Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-91-175 *10 September 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

Yeltsin Assurances on Arms Control 'Opportune'

PM0909105591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent V. Linnik: "Who Will Carry The Nuclear Briefcase?"]

[Text] New York—The interviews with Gorbachev and Yeltsin, broadcast by CNN on successive days, made a big impact in the United States.

Both interviews were repeated in full time and again, and many snippets appeared in news bulletins. What seemed to the Americans to be the most significant elements of the conversations with the presidents?

In the interview with Gorbachev the accent was placed on several points, above all the USSR president's refusal to resign. The interview was interpreted by commentators as Gorbachev's consent to the Baltic republics' separation. In my view, this was not so clearly and unequivocally present in the text. But on that day the Americans were obviously viewing everything in the light of G. Bush's statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

Several points were also noted in the interview with Yeltsin. The first was the Russian president's declaration of his "almost complete trust in Gorbachev." "He is a different person," Yeltsin said. Why? "Gorbachev was betrayed by everyone," Yeltsin explained. The Russian president was emphatic: "My people will not betray me."

Americans were also interested to hear Yeltsin say that Gorbachev's political life will last exactly as long as he cooperates with the reformers. This ultimatum-like formula was seen here as a clear indication of who is currently giving the orders at the top. There was a curious detail that intrigued the audience: Yeltsin's story of how he personally lured Kryuchkov onto the train for Foros to fetch Gorbachev, in order to be able to arrest the KGB chief on the way back. Americans adore detective stories, and for them this was undoubtedly one of the most gripping and juicy.

Finally, something that is extremely important to the Americans themselves: Yeltsin's clarification of the question of control over Soviet nuclear weapons. There was obvious relief here at the statement by the Russian president that strategic nuclear forces were being withdrawn from the Ukraine and Kazakhstan to the territory of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and would remain under control. Clearly, the Americans would give their eyeteeth for information as to who currently holds the precious briefcase carrying the codes for launching missiles. Is it in the hands of the committee Yeltsin spoke of? "How could this be done in practical terms?" commentators asked. Would every member of the committee carry a replica of the briefcase? Or would the members of the committee share the missiles among them? Clearly, the United States is not particularly bothered about the tactical nuclear weapons on the territories of other republics. The reason is obvious: Nuclear artillery shells will not reach the United States.

People here inevitably latched on to Yeltsin's assurances that he would abide by constitutional guarantees and freedoms. In light of the concern that is felt in the United States in connection with the events in the USSR, these assurances were extremely opportune.

Movement of Nuclear Codes During Coup Detailed

91WC0163A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by A. Krayniy: "'I Kept the Codes Under My Pillow': Was There Any Real Danger of Starting a Nuclear War During the Putsch?"]

[Text] "...It would seem that only he who suspended the thread can cut it," said Ga-Nosri. Until 21 August these words could be applied to Gorbachev, Yazov, and Moiseyev with 100 percent certainty. These three people could "cut the thread," despite all the agreements with the United States and our own Supreme Soviet, which must be notified by the president as Supreme Commander that a decision has been made to, let us say, launch a retaliatory nuclear strike.

Why "despite"? Because in a purely technical sense it is impossible to notify the members of the Supreme Soviet in a matter of a few minutes. The flying time of missiles launched from the Barents Sea or the Sea of Norway is seven to nine minutes; for those launched from the continental United States—12 to 15 minutes. All that these three people, invested with power and responsibilities beyond compare, can accomplish in the time they have is to consult with each other. The communications currently at their disposal (it is now, of course, Shaposhnikov instead of Yazov and Lobov instead of Moiseyev) allow the parties to communicate with each other in a matter of seconds, no matter where they may be at the time. This is a so-called conference call, when three people talk simultaneously. It happens to ordinary folks, too. You know: "Galya, Galya!... Comrade, please get off the line. Galya!"

At some time, in the course of negotiations with the Americans, an agreement was reached that each side notify the other of missile launches, for instance, in the area of the Pacific Ocean and, even more importantly, of unauthorized missile launches. This can also happen, and the possibility that both sides would start a nuclear exchange because of someone's horrible mistake must be prevented. In the USSR there is a special Center for the Reduction of the Nuclear Threat, headed by Lieutenant General M. The center has a special control system

which makes it possible to track every missile launch by the American side. Naturally, the United States also has an analogous system.

During the days of the putsch a crisis situation arose in the Strategic Nuclear Forces Administration. The "special communications of guaranteed reliability"—an element of which, the black briefcase that is always carried behind Gorbachev, is probably known to everybody—was taken away from the USSR president and taken to Moscow, to the Ministry of Defense. Military aides—that is, the GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate] officers who carry and protect the briefcase—erased the code. This means no putschist could get into the command system of the strategic nuclear forces—except for Yazov, of course. It is not enough to know the code; one also needs to know the key, which is entrusted to only three people. Nobody else.

The president was in Foros, without communications. By the middle of the day on 21 August Yazov was without communications, too. Being in a hurry to pay a conciliatory visit to Mikhail Sergeyevich, he left his military aides at Vnukovo-2, which he had no right to do. Wherever one of the three holders of the code and the key goes, his military aides follow.

Thus, the military aides stayed at Vnukovo, and the Russian authorities tried to detain their car. The duty of military aides is to die if there is no way to get the special communications to safety. An explosion would have followed, but fate intervened. The military aides managed to get in touch with the person who has the right to issue only one order—to erase the codes. After this is done, one can hammer nails with the black briefcase, it is completely harmless.

...I understand that everybody wants to know the answer to one question: Even in theory could the only remaining code-holder, Army General Moiseyev, have started a nuclear war? The answer is—no. Why? This is another, completely classified, story.

U.S. Scientists Issue Nuclear Arms Appeal

PM0909144391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Appeal by Concerned Scientists"]

[Text] Reduce the arsenal of nuclear warheads to the minimum level for deterrence—that is the appeal contained in the U.S. Association of Concerned Scientists' open letter to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The U.S. scientists are deeply concerned at the fact that during the days of the putsch there was a likelihood of the conspirators' use of the secret codes controlling the Soviet strategic arsenal and also at the threat which has arisen of its "fragmentation" among individual republics seeking the status of independent states.

The U.S. Association of Concerned Scientists urges the Soviet Union not only to proclaim its aim of reducing nuclear forces to the minimum deterrence level but also to take unilateral specific steps in that direction.

Worldwide Issues

Reportage on CSCE Conference Held in Moscow

Baltics Participation Under Discussion

OW0909194191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The International Conference on Human Dimension opens in the Soviet capital on Tuesday. Early reports say the foreign ministers of all the 35 CSCE nations, who will attend the opening ceremony at Moscow's House of the Unions, will be addressed (at around 10:30am) by President Mikhail Gorbachev. Various countries' representatives will then make introductory statements.

The first issue to be discussed by the foreign ministers of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada will be the appeal of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to be admitted to the European process.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry (MID) official has told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] reporter that this is a problem needing full CSCE consensus. He reaffirmed the Soviet Union's intention not to build artificial barriers in that way, and drew attention to the fact that the USSR State Council's very first resolution had been to recognize the Baltic states' independence with all the ensuing consequences. The official said that all rumors about the Soviet Union's possible desire to bar the Baltics from the European process were groundless. According to him, the number of CSCE states would be sure to reach 38 tomorrow.

As regards the State Council's decision that the three Baltic Republics should open talks with the USSR on the entire range of secession-related issues, such talks, according to his sources, would begin without delay, the MID official said.

Albanian Foreign Minister Attends

LD0909163991 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—"Albania is prepared to make its worthy contribution to the creation of a new Europe and the CSCE process fully meets our hopes and aspirations," Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani, who arrived here for the Moscow CSCE human dimension conference that is to open today in the Hall of Columns of the local House of the

Unions, told TASS. This is the first visit by an Albanian foreign minister to the USSR after an interval of 30 years.

Expounding on his idea of a new Europe, the minister noted that no matter how this process is termed in developed countries—construction of an all-European home or new European architecture—it allows such a small nation as Albania to take part in the shaping the continent's future aspect. "The CSCE process," the minister noted, "pursues the purpose of establishing an order ruling out confrontation among various military-political blocs, as well as the continent's division into the North and the South."

The Albanian minister believes inter-state borders will lose their former significance in this new Europe and people of the European Continent will be able to communicate freely as citizens of one large state, feeling their security and basing their relations on common social and economic goals.

Asked whether Albania intended to raise the problem of Albanian refugees during the Moscow conference, Muhamet Kapllani said he favoured the discussion of all the aspects of the human rights problem. "The human dimension," he believes, "is a multifarious concept, which involves all the problems linked with human rights."

Conference on Human Dimension Opens

LD1009083591 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—A little man struggling to tear away fetters binding him—such is a simple and clear symbol of the third CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, which opened in Moscow today.

The allegory is especially adequate since Muscovites, the Russian and Soviet democratic forces proved to themselves and the world just a few weeks ago that the attempt by putschists to place the shackles of totalitarianism on the people is doomed.

The reactionary forces were stopped also because human dimension went into action—the potential of a nation paving the way to freedom and democracy.

Significantly, official circles and the public in most countries denounced the putschists, and supported the president of the USSR, the Russian leadership and Soviet democratic circles.

Moscow has proved that it is rightfully hosting the forum that will focus on human rights in our rapidly-changing world.

Delegations from 33 European states, as well as the United States and Canada, led by foreign ministers gathered in the House of Unions Hall of Columns.

Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, chairing the meeting, declared it open.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev greeted participants in the forum.

Pankin Declares Conference Open

LD1009092791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0730 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Speech by USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin at Third CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, your attention please! The president of the Soviet Union. [applause]

I hereby declare open the Moscow meeting of the CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension, which is being held by a decision of the 1986 Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE participant states within the framework of further steps following the meeting.

It gives me pleasure to report to you that, at a supplementary meeting at the level of ministers and representatives of the CSCE participant states which took place this morning on the question of accepting the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic, the consensus was reached that these states join the CSCE in the capacity of participant states. I cordially welcome our colleague ministers of foreign affairs of the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic, and other esteemed representatives of these states. [applause]

Let us begin consideration of the first item on the agenda, the official opening and the greeting address by a representative of the host country.

Gorbachev Greets Conference

LD1009090191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0730 10 Sep 91

[Speech by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Third CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow on 10 September—live]

[Text] Esteemed chairman! Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! Comrades! On behalf of my fellow citizens, and on behalf of the republics which are joining together in a new union, I welcome you to Moscow. In your persons, I welcome the international community, which supported us at a critical moment, helped to stop reaction, and thus showed through deeds that the Helsinki Act and the Paris Charter are not just beautifully written texts, but documents reflecting a new reality, a new integral unity in the world—one unified by common human values, on the threshold of a new historical era.

Our democracy, having grown up with immense difficulty in the years of perestroyka, and far from having reached its full strength, was subjected to a fatal danger. Three chief lessons follow from the August events. The first is that the irreversible nature of the changes that

democracy and glasnost have brought has been confirmed. Perestroyka, however it may be criticized—sometimes deservedly—has already done a great thing. A tremendous path has been traversed in six years. A real breakthrough to a new life has taken place. Immense masses of people have become aware of themselves as citizens for whom, despite all the burdens of everyday life, liberty has become the highest value. And it was they who blocked the way for the plotters, who wrecked their plan to return the country to its totalitarian past.

Second, the coup also failed because the world around us condemned the putsch and came to the defense of our democracy, viewing it as part of the whole of the democratic world. Such a standpoint is natural. The Soviet Union, thanks to the new thinking and the foreign policy that is based upon it, has ceased to be an antagonist in that world.

People now see the conditions necessary for security and the progress of all humankind in the success of perestroyka. But why was the attempted coup possible at all? Here lies the third lesson for us.

What took place during the coup was, to some extent, an inevitable skirmish between the forces of reaction and of democracy. The contradictions which had mounted up had to find an outlet. But we have to be sober in assessing it all; we have to be ruthless in our analysis, firmly take a realistic stance, and recognize that the conditions did exist to which the plotters linked their plans.

They were counting upon being able to utilize the socioeconomic tension in society, the dissatisfaction at the disorder of everyday life, the fall in the standard of living, the lack of order—when the authorities were unable to ensure the safety of people and property—and to exploit people's anxieties concerning the fierce national conflicts and the threat of the chaotic collapse of the country. The putschists supposed that in this situation the people might follow them, hoping for stabilization and an improvement in the material situation. They also counted upon the people's adherence to democracy not yet having become sufficiently firm.

However, the democratic forces themselves did not recognize, as they should have, the vital necessity of interaction and cooperation. They—the democratic forces—were not able to subordinate all their activities to their being objectively united. They frequently entered into a sharp struggle with each other, weakening themselves in the face of the reactionary forces. How many times in history has this kind of thing happened—when the forces of progress have wallowed in clarifying the nuances in the relations among themselves, while reaction took advantage of this, taking power into its own hands.

When the plotters saw that, on the basis of the Novo-Ogarevo process, a trend toward the consolidation of democracy was mounting, they resolved to act, fearing to tarry. However, they did not take into account the most important thing. Yes, the people want law and order and stability—but not through dictatorship, not through states of emergency. Having profoundly erred, they resolved to put their stake on its being possible to once again shut the country off from others, once again stand against the civilized world. They ignored the immense and fundamental changes in the country's international position, especially with respect to the Europeans.

Both factors together, the democratic gains of perestroyka and the new relations with the outside world, predetermined the defeat of the putschists.

From the very beginning of the crisis processes connected with the radical transformation of society, I saw my task as not allowing the contradictions which had accumulated to come to an explosive head. I tried to win time in order to give the democratic process time to become stable enough, to strengthen in the people loyalty to the new values. My idea was, despite any difficulty, to preserve the course for transformations, to ensure that it proceeded in political forms despite the painfulness of that process. And indeed, how else could the initiators of perestroyka behave? What sort of democrats would they have been then? Likewise, on the international arena, we stuck firmly to our course in order to avoid problems being resolved by force, to avert the attempt of a reactionary coup.

But at the same time I cannot fail to speak of mistakes made on my part. At that stage, when the dismantling of the totalitarian system of government began, I should have acted more decisively and quickly in destroying the old structures. After all, it was namely there that the forces of the past were accumulated, and upon which the conspirators were able to rely.

However, the fact that the coup quickly misfired showed that the efforts of the firm supporters of perestroyka had not been in vain. Had the coup occurred 18 months or two years ago, the results might have been different.

The short-lived nature of the coup, apart from everything else, showed how the conspirators were cut off from the people, who have changed. The Army has changed, too. The wretchedness of their thinking was laid bare, too, which did not allow them to understand that such changes had taken place in a society which inevitably would condemn their adventure to failure.

And so, the main lesson of the August events for us is that we must go ahead along the path of democratic transformations more decisively, more boldly, more quickly, toward the new union and the market economy.

The rout of the coup and everything connected with the Congress of People's Deputies was a cleansing thunder.

The Congress, which took place in an atmosphere of public shock and which reflected that atmosphere, nevertheless turned out to be equal to its mission. Agreement on the main thing was achieved after sharp discussions. What the Congress brought the country to is

certainly not something that is a surprise, that contradicts the general direction of perestroyka. On the contrary, what has taken place is the freeing, in an explosive manner, of the whole potential of social, economic, and national development which has been building up over the years of perestroyka, and which was set down from the very beginning in its basic design.

In terms of principle, everything that has revealed itself and that is taking place in our country now is in keeping with my very deepest convictions and intentions.

It is not often that there are days and weeks in political life that one can call historic in the direct meaning of the word. You, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, have come to a country at precisely such a time. I will say more than that—really and truly you have come to the capital of a state that is beginning a new epoch in its thousand years of development. Henceforth the international community will be dealing with a union of sovereign states, with a country wherein free and democratic states, republics, many dozens of nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups, dwell together voluntarily and with equality of rights—with a country wherein the most diverse cultures and nearly all the known religions exist together in harmony, and cooperate, creating a unique cultural and spiritual space.

This great Eurasian democracy will become one of the bulwarks of the new world, its security, and the rapprochement between the two continents in the building of a just international order.

The aggregate foreign policy potential of the new Union will grow, thanks to the liberated and original contribution of the sovereign republics that comprise it. Of course, all of this lies in the future. But we will work insistently and consistently, having in mind precisely this goal.

You will evidently be familiar with the basic documents of the Congress of People's Deputies. May I just describe them briefly. The declaration of human rights and freedoms adopted by the Congress, and the documents which define the framework and content of the transitional period and the principles for formation of the new union, take as their premise that the freedom of the individual, and his honor and dignity, are recognized as the supreme value of our society. This becomes both the moral and—something I emphasize particularly—the legal foundation of our Union. The republics which have stated their intention to be part of it have reaffirmed their adherence to the foreign policy course of the new thinking, and to all the obligations the Soviet Union had previously taken upon itself, including those formulated in the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. They will create a mechanism which is capable of ensuring an agreed line in the cardinal areas of international security, disarmament, and development. Unified armed forces; effective, centralized control of nuclear potential; and a joint defense policy will be an important component in the integrality of the Union. This will provide a guarantee for the reliable security of all the republics and of the Union as a whole, while at the same time matching up to the fundamental principles of contemporary international politics.

The treaty on economic union will determine the norms and mechanisms for the functioning of a unified economic space, based on voluntariness, equal rights, and continuity of obligations to our own citizens and to other countries. All who wish to become full members of the Union will conclude a currency union between themselves, will conduct a common monetary policy, and will harmonize their economic legislation. They will agree on a common minimum for social policy.

The Union treaty will define the specific outline of the mighty new state formation. At the Congress it was decided to speed up the drafting of it. This is not simply a continuation of the Novo- Ogarevo process. The new realities which became so clear and made themselves so felt in connection with the events of 18-21 August, including the understanding that has quickly become widespread of late—that acquiring independence is not a pretext for a chaotic breaking of historic ties, but fresh grounds for the creation of a solid union of truly sovereign and genuinely independent states—will be taken into account.

The new Union must be founded upon the principles of the independence and territorial integrity of the Union itself, and of the states of which it is composed. The right both to join the Union, and to secede from it, is envisaged. Each republic will independently determine the form in which it will participate, and what links it will have with the others. The formulation Union of Sovereign States makes it possible to find the best option for combining the sovereignty of the parts with that of the whole. Such are the outlines of the new Union, in general terms, but it must be said that it will be no easy task to build it. We have lost no time, in starting in this main direction, to implement what was drawn up during the Congress of People's Deputies. As concerns the Baltic states, as you are aware, the State Council has—taking into account the specific historical and political situation before Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia joined the USSR—recognized their independence, and instructed a plenipotentiary state delegation to conduct negotiations and resolve a whole package of problems connected with ensuring the rights of citizens and with economic, political, military, border, humanitarian, and other issues.

Ladies and Gentlemen! The problems of guaranteeing human rights throughout this huge country have emerged in even more acute form in the transitional period following the suppression of the putsch. Are there reliable guarantees that such a thing will not happen again? I refer you to the decisions of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

These provide for mechanisms to defend the constitutional order. Another serious point is preventing arbitrariness in investigating the circumstances of the coup. The organizers of the conspiracy, and some of those who committed criminal acts, must be strictly punished in accordance with the law. Reprisals against political opponents, however, are impermissible, as is persecution for dissident thinking and for adherence to various political organizations. Our society, which lived through the monstrous repressions of the Stalin regime and decades of arbitrary rule, is particularly sensitive to such things. And further, we are now well aware that it is not enough to proclaim human rights, or to declare one's commitment to the universal declaration on this. In order for them to become a reality, human rights must be legally and economically guaranteed.

The transformation of our Union requires a very attentive and responsible attitude to the minority populations in the new state formations. The consolidation of nation states—both in the case of republics entering into a new Union and particularly in the case of leaving the USSR—must not be allowed to be accompanied by any infringement of the rights of minorities. Our experience in recent years makes us particularly attentive to this problem. However, it is not only our own experience: if Europe does not wish to be confronted with a flood of refugees, with armed conflicts and interethnic hatred, it must keep a very strict watch on the observance of minority rights by all the subject states in its space. Otherwise the whole European process will collapse—burying human rights, too, in its wake.

This topic merits the most careful, all-around discussion at conferences like your own, and also clearly expressed stances on this fundamental issue.

The new thinking helped us understand that not only the rights and freedoms of individuals enshrined in the law, but also a civilized, modern market and economic freedom can be a firm basis for democracy. It is in precisely this atmosphere that a new type of person is being shaped, people of independent mind and action, and they make up an active part of civic society. However, as the experience of the world shows, this builds up over centuries and decades, but we have to get through to these values in years. This is why we need cooperation, support, and solidarity. This will be repaid with interest, because we are talking about a country with which is linked the progress and destiny of the whole world.

I can only add that what was done in the days following the rout of the putsch is opening up a magnificent opportunity, and I very much hope that the West will now be more understanding of what I have persistently and repeatedly spoken of—calling for practical and productive cooperation with our country. We are counting on this—all the more because, on the basis of the statement by the president of the country and the leaders of the republics, structures for joint coordinated action in the period of transition, for the stabilization of economic and political life and the acceleration of radical, democratic reforms, have already been set up, and are being set up.

The conditions for the quicker and more decisive implementation of the understandings within the framework of G-7, for assisting the republics and the whole Union in the revival of the national economy under fundamentally new conditions, are thereby present as well.

In August, we were convinced once again of the need for reliable legal and material guarantees for freedom of information, on a national and international scale. It is obviously appropriate at this conference to touch upon this topic. After all, a mechanism and the corresponding infrastructure of information security are needed, especially for emergency situations.

I would like to speak here particularly of the problem of demilitarization. It is connected directly with human rights. After all, militarism not only consumes the economy, not only lays in store ecological catastrophe, but also threatens democracy—politically, physically, and spiritually.

Therefore, demilitarization is one of the most important directions of the confirmation of human rights and freedoms. We will secure it in our own country and everywhere with greater and greater conviction and persistence. In this connection, I would like to note especially that, as before, we favor the soonest ratification of the treaty on troop reductions and conventional arms in Europe and of the treaty on strategic offensive arms. We call upon governments, the broad world public, to act in a more unified way and more boldly along all the directions of the demilitarization of international relations.

What your conference, dedicated to human rights, to humanism, has to say about this would ring out strongly in the present radically changed situation.

I want to welcome the participants of parallel events, timed to concide with the interstate Conference on the Human Dimension, and the public. I think you will appreciate the fact that I have spoken almost exclusively about my own country. It is not just a matter of the events of the past few weeks having slowed our foreign policy activity down somewhat—it is also that in concentrating all our efforts now on internal affairs, we are proceeding from the premise that their optimum settlement is in the interests of our own people and of the Union as a whole, and at the same time—and most importantly—is our contribution to world politics, too.

Obviously, much attention will be devoted at the conference to the present complex stage of the European process. Indeed, as the contradictions of the cold war fade into the past, problems and contradictions of another kind emerge. And Europeans are faced with still more delicate tasks—no less complex ones—if we are to decide them by new criteria, by the criteria of the CSCE.

We are faced with the highly complex task of mastering a new type of relationship among the states of present-day Europe. Here there are many unusual problems. Very serious interpretations are required, already taking into account the profound changes in the countries of eastern and central Europe, above all in our country. We need to work out jointly the optimum approaches, so as not to play into the hands of the forces of separatism and national extremism, nor inflict damage on the newly begun formation of a new Europe—proceeding toward the replacement of the Europe of blocs, confrontation, and barriers preventing the free exchange of goods, knowledge, and the achievements of science, technology, and culture.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Soviet Union, even in its former capacity, came forward in recent years as a powerful factor in European security, mutual understanding, and cooperation. It not only became a generator of the idea of a common European home, but also made an enormous political contribution to positive changes in the European area. The new democratic Union of Sovereign States, having taken up everything positive that was done in the international arena by the Soviet Union, will work still more actively in all directions envisaged by the Charter for a New Europe.

Permit me to wish you success. The problems which you have gathered here to discuss touch upon the vital interests of every person, and they are therefore of paramount importance. Thank you for listening to me.

Churkin Gives Briefing for Journalists

On Foreign Ministry Cadres

PM0909210091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent G. Charodeyev report from USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center: "Kryuchkov's Son Still in Diplomatic Work"]

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was addressed by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, who spoke about the cadre situation in the ministry. "We are conducting a thorough analysis of all the activity of the central apparatus and institutions abroad recently." At the same time, he stated, the appearance in the press of distorted reports and sometimes provocative assertions is bound to prompt hostility and objections. In particular, V. Churkin mentioned the weekly MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, whose latest issue carried a commentary entitled "Silent Majority." It stresses that "...a powerful contingent of products of the party nomenklatura is making a tangible mark on the situation (at the USSR Foreign Ministry—G.Ch.): In those administrations where the leaders are 'boys from Staraya Square,' there has been virtually no exodus from the CPSU." In the opinion of the Foreign Ministry spokesman, the weekly is virtually "calling for a purge at the ministry." V. Churkin thinks the epithets used in the commentary to refer to present or former CPSU members are "insulting." Moreover, he says that among the 22 members of the ministry collegium there is not now a single party worker. Among chiefs of operational sectors there is only one product of the CPSU Central Committee, and he is an eminent expert on certain countries and can in no way be categorized as a member of the party nomenklatura.

"The process of departyization at the USSR Foreign Ministry," V. Churkin stressed, "means freedom for every diplomat and every employee to define his own position on party membership, and this will not affect his official status or whether or not a staffer continues to work in the USSR Foreign Ministry system. That is how we understand departyization, and that is what we will be guided by."

The speaker at the briefing went on to mention a commentary printed in the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, "Cadre Crisis at the Foreign Ministry." It mentions, in particular, two men dismissed from their posts, V. Nikiforov, deputy minister for cadre questions, and V. Kazimirov, a Foreign Ministry leadership worker. It is reported that they "are suspected of links with the plotters."

"We know nothing of such suspicions," V. Churkin said. "With regard to V. Kazimirov, the commentary contains incorrect claims that he 'was dismissed from the post of chief of the Personnel Administration.' V. Kazimirov's appointment to that post had indeed been planned formerly, but did not take place. He will continue to work, as before, as chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry African Countries Administration. Incidentally, the assertion concerning his being a relative of Kryuchkov is untrue..."

IZVESTIYA's correspondent telephoned the editorial office of the popular youth newspaper and asked for their view of the USSR Foreign Ministry reaction. "We usually employ sources which we trust..." came the reply from the MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS journalists.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman also stated that rumors of the dismissal of Kryuchkov's son from diplomatic work are not in accordance with reality. "We do not intend to start a campaign under the familiar rubric 'Children of Enemies of the People,' shadows of which can unfortunately sometimes be glimpsed in our press."

On Disbanding Foreign Ministry Collegium

LD0909135691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (TASS)—On Saturday, 7 September, a session of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, chaired by USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin, adopted a decision to disband so as to enable the

minister to reconstitute its membership. That was reported today at a briefing by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Directorate.

On Talks With Palestine

LD0909150591 Moscow TASS International in Russian 1325 GMT 9 Sep 91

[TASS Diplomatic correspondent Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep. (TASS)—Today in the framework of the permanent Soviet-Palestine consultations on questions concerning the situation in the Near East, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Belonogov received Mahmud 'Abbas, Member of the PLO Executive Committee. This was reported today at a briefing by Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the center of attention were issues concerning the establishment of a peace process with a view to achieving a comprehensive settlement in the Near East, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said. The actual fact of this meeting, Vitaliy Churkin stressed, shows that the contacts between the USSR and Palestine, just like between the USSR and the other direct participants in the conflict who are interested in its settlement, are of a permanent and rather intensive nature.

On Latin America Chemical Arms Decision

LD0909171491 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 9 Sep 91

[by TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the decision by Brazil, Argentina and Chile not to produce, not to acquire and not to use chemical and biological weapons, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vitaly Churkin told a briefing here today.

He was commenting on the signing by the foreign ministers of three Latin American countries of a joint declaration on the complete ban of chemical and biological weapons.

Of great importance, the Soviet spokesman stressed, is the will expressed by them to work towards the signing of an international convention banning chemical weapons and to be among the first to sign it. This is a timely statement in light of the fact that the work on the convention within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference has already entered the home stretch.

The Soviet Union for its part, Churkin said, is doing everything in its power to achieve the signing of the convention the soonest possible.

The USSR expresses solidarity with the determination, expressed in the declaration, to help make successful the third conference, at which the convention banning biological weapons will be considered.

On Proposals To Eliminate Chemical Arms

LD0909174491 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Rostislav Gertsev and Sergeiy Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—The Soviet Union intends to come out with new proposals and take an active part in working out new measures at the third conference which has opened in Geneva today to consider a convention to ban the development, production and stock-piling of bacteriological, biological and toxic weapons and eliminate them, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

The third conference will face the task of confirming the convention's effect and strengthening its authority, an urgent need in light of the recent achievements in the fields of biology and biotechnology as well as in connection with the growing threat of proliferation of biological weapons, according to Churkin.

The conference is expected to take important decisions to ensure the effective compliance with provisions of the convention, such as the creation of a special verification mechanism, new measures to build confidence and expand openness of the member-countries and attract all countries to membership in the convention.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Departs To Discuss Mideast Talks

LD1009071891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0611 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TASS)—During meetings between academician Yevgeniy Primakov and leaders of Near and Middle East countries, issues related to a Near East settlement will be discussed. This is to be the main topic of the talks between Boris Pankin and James Baker, heads of the Soviet and U.S. foreign political departments, which will take place in Moscow this week. Yevgeniy Primakov is flying from Moscow today as a personal representative of the USSR president. He intends to visit six countries in the region: Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait, Iran, and Turkey.

Taking into account the changes that are taking place both in the USSR and the world as a whole, the talks between Yevgeniy Primakov and leaders of a number of Near and Middle East countries will focus on issues of developing economic cooperation. A TASS correspondent learned about this today from circles close to the academician.

Yevgeniy Primakov will hand the heads of the above Arab countries a personal message from President Gorbachev.

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 0638 GMT on 10 September notes that Primakov has departed for the Near East.]

PLO Envoy Interviewed on Support for Coup

PM0909135391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Nabil 'Amr, Palestinian ambassador to the USSR, by D. Kulik; place and date not given: "Y. 'Arafat Was Shocked by Certain Palestinian Figures' Statements of Support for the State Committee for the State of Emergency"]

[Text] As is well known, representatives of the PLO were among those who supported the August putsch. What is the explanation for this posture? Nabil 'Amr, ambassador of the State of Palestine to the Soviet Union, answers this question.

[Kulik] How did you view the remarks of some members of the PLO leadership to the effect that they welcome the effective removal of M.S. Gorbachev from the post of USSR president and the introduction of the state of emergency?

['Amr] I will be frank and say that the statements of these Palestinian figures were too hasty and shocked Y. 'Arafat to some extent. I think that such remarks cannot adversely influence the development of relations between our states. Especially as the official PLO viewpoint set out by the president of Palestine was totally different. So we hope that both the millions of Soviet people and the Soviet Government will continue to support the Palestinian people's struggle. In the name of the PLO leadership I can state with total responsibility that we totally reject attacks on democracy both in the Soviet Union and in other states.

[Kulik] There are now demands in the Soviet Union for the closure of the Palestinian Embassy. What do you think about this and what measures are you taking in view of it?

['Amr] I think that these demands cannot be called fair from either the political or moral viewpoints. With regard to our embassy's activity, I must note that we are holding open dialogue with all political parties and social organizations.

And in general, what kind of a principle is it to suggest that if any friction or misunderstanding arises between countries, then embassies must immediately be closed. Meanwhile, the forces that are demanding the closure of the Palestinian Embassy are simultaneously demanding the opening of an Israeli Embassy. I would not like the first victory of truly democratic forces in the Soviet Union to lead to the curtailment of our relations.

I also think that our cooperation should be based not only on political and cultural but also on economic foundations.

Commentary on Iran's Policy Debate Over Republics

NC0909151391 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1430 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] The rapid developments in the Soviet Union, namely the establishment of independent countries within the territories of the republics that form the Soviet Union, have led Iran to clarify its foreign policy. The problem facing the Islamic leadership is what should be done to react properly to this situation. According to reports in the Iranian press, two tendencies can be observed in the higher levels of the Iranian Government, but they conflict with one another.

One plan opposes adopting any kind of specific position on the Soviet republics that neighbor the Islamic Republic. The proponents of this policy believe that we should not jump to any conclusions, because the situation is unstable in these regions and because their problems are internal issues which concern solely these republics.

The opposing view maintains that the lack of decisiveness currently being shown, particularly toward Azerbaijan's declaration of independence, should not be continued. A number of influential Iranian politicians believe that it is necessary to interfere in this situation actively and to carry out the appropriate measures in Muslim-inhabited areas of the Soviet Union; for example, the idea has been propounded that Iran—as the center of Islam in the modern world—should play a specific role in the current events of the Soviet Union's Asian regions. It seems, however, that Tehran's official authorities have decided to stall for time and are inclined toward a cautious approach.

Meanwhile, it is obvious that pressure on the official authorities is growing. For example, a few days ago JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI reported: Now is not the time for hesitation, and we should make our decision in light of the current developments in the region. One can see at a glance, however, that there are many aspects of the situation that must be taken into account. According to experts, there are cases where Iran's interests are not compatible with those of the Soviet Union's Muslim republics. For example, it is easy to see how an independent Azerbaijan will complicate Iran's domestic problems. Observers have reminded us that there is a high possibility that Tehran will be forced to deal with the problem of the Azerbaijanis living on its territory, who have been watching the politicians of Tehran with suspicion for quite some time. In the near future, it might become difficult to foresee the events that come to pass in Tabriz, and the Iranian officials must take this into consideration today.

Furthermore, it is not certain that the Soviet Union's Central Asian Muslim republics would recognize Tehran as the center of Islam. It is enough to remember that the majority of this region's population is Sunni and is closer to Saudi Arabia than to Iran when it comes to religious matters. Everyone agrees, moreover, that Islam does not play a primary role in these republics and their highest priority is the right to independently secure their national destiny. Thus, it seems there should be no rush to make bold predictions or far-fetched calculations.

East Europe

Loncar To Meet Leaders on Yugoslav Settlement

OW0909194891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] correspondent has learned at the USSR Foreign Ministry's Third European Department, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar arrives in Moscow today to take part in the human rights conference. A MID [Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs] official said President Gorbachev might meet with Mr. Loncar already tomorrow to discuss the prospects of a settlement in Yugoslavia. The same problem would be discussed at length during Mr. Loncar's planned meeting with his Soviet colleague Boris Pankin. Yugoslavia is pinning considerable hopes on these talks, the MID official said.

He described the present situation in Yugoslavia as "rather difficult" and observed that official recognition by foreign states of the independence of any of the Yugoslav republics would now be "counterproductive," since it might trigger "irreversible processes burying the very possibility of compromise in Yugoslavia."

The Soviet diplomat stressed the point that the Brioni agreements were still in effect, including the three-month moratorium on all acts related to the proclamation of republican independence. He said the EC-sponsored settlement process, under way in Yugoslavia despite all the existing difficulties, could see a further development as a result of the meetings and talks in Moscow.

Asked about the fate of the Soviet TV journalists Viktor Nogin and Gennadiy Kurinniy who had left for Croatia one week ago to videofilm hostilities there, the diplomat said that every imaginable effort to trace their whereabouts had so far been fruitless.

West Europe

German Foreign Minister Holds Talks in Moscow

Meets With Gorbachev

LD0909191591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1826 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting today with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs. The USSR president gave a very frank outline of the situation in the country and described measures that have been taken regarding the elimination of the putsch and new possibilities suddenly available to implement the goals of perestroyka.

Both stated that the failure of the plot was explained by a combination of two factors—sufficient depth in the democratization of society and the rooting of new values in that society, on the one hand, and the country's altered international situation as a result of the foreign policy of new thinking, on the other. Mikhail Gorbachev gave a high assessment of the position taken at the time of trial by the leadership of Germany and the German people in support of democracy and legality. This was a further test of the durability and irreversibility of the new relations between the two countries and peoples.

There was a detailed conversation on the mechanisms of specific interaction and cooperation for the transitional period of forming a union of sovereign states.

The same day Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. Good friends and reliable partners who have invested a great deal of work in transforming Europe on new principles and in developing fundamentally new relations between the two countries and peoples, they spoke with their characteristic openness and directness of the most practical matters of cooperation, which our country is in particular need of during the transitional period.

Quite specific problems linked with cooperation in the short and long term were raised and received clear answers. Just as in the conversation with the German vice chancellor, Mikhail Gorbachev gave a frank and trenchant analysis of the August events, their causes and effects, and described the content and significance of the decisions taken by the Congress of People's Deputies.

Meets Shevardnadze, Yakovlev

LD0909110191 Berlin ADN in German 0944 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow (ADN)—Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was received by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin in Moscow today. New Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin also took part in the talks. "In our talks we will build on what we have agreed upon recently," Gorbachev said to journalists at the start of the talks. He asked them to pass on his best

wishes to all Germans. He said he was well although there was a lot of work to do.

Before the talks in the Kremlin, Genscher met with former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and former Gorbachev advisor Aleksandr Yakovlev. It was reported in the German delegation that Genscher particularly wishes to look into the further development of the country into a confederate union of sovereign states and the prospects of future bilateral cooperation with the central power as well as with the republics. In addition, questions on security policies with regard to the treaty on the reduction of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe to be ratified soon and the further reduction of the nuclear weapon arsenal are to be discussed. Genscher evidently also intends to discuss and agree on the new German proposals for the continuation of the CSCE process with the Soviet leadership. [passage omitted]

Pankin Assurance on Disarmament

LD0909180391 Hamburg DPA in German 1536 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The new Soviet foreign minister, Boris Pankin, assured Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Moscow today that the new union and all the republics would take on all the obligations for conventional disarmament unreservedly. Pankin intends to support a speedy ratification of the treaty and to introduce necessary adjustments later, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Hanns Schumacher announced.

During the first meeting between the two foreign ministers Pankin emphasized the positive position that Genscher had shown "from the very beginning" during the coup, and he accepted an invitation to visit Bonn. During the talks Pankin once again gave the assurance that there were no longer any Soviet nuclear weapons on German soil.

Kohl, Gorbachev Hold Telephone Conversation

LD1009115591 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Semenov]

[Text] Bonn September 10 TASS— German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had a telephone conversation on Monday to discuss the situation in the Soviet Union, according to a German Government spokeswoman.

They did not discuss the extradition of former East German leader Erich Honecker, she said.

The failed Soviet coup and prospects for preserving the union give hope that trade with the Soviet Union will not deteriorate, Helmut Kohl told a meeting of business and trade union representatives.

The Soviet Union plans to sign contracts worth 12 billion marks, Kohl said, commenting on trade and economic relations between eastern Germany and the Soviet Union.

Agreements to sign deals worth nine billion marks have been reached, he said.

Soviet lawmakers took a decision on September 5, which signalled the end of the old Soviet Union. A union of equal republics, sharing a common economic and monetary space is now taking shape, he said.

This offers a chance for successful economic reforms and gives hopes that Western help will not vanish in the split Soviet Union, he said.

Yakovlev Departs for Economic Talks With Kohl

LD1009083891 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev's special envoy Aleksandr Yakovlev left Moscow for Frankfurt am Main today.

"My mission is to discuss economic relations between our countries with Chancellor Helmut Kohl," Yakovlev told TASS in the airport.

"Our economic situation wasn't rosy even before the putsch. The putsch incurred great additional damage, and affected foreign economic relations," he said.

"Understandably, German businessmen did not want to take risks, they did not know how all this would end in our country. Naturally, they would not want to deal with a military-bureaucratic regime," he said.

"We should now try to put things right. My task boils down to normalising economic ties with Germany," he said.

"Frankly speaking we will need help during the hard winter that lies ahead. There are certain issues that have to be resolved. They concern ourselves, our requests. For instance, to change the schedule for credits and agree on other issues," he said.

"In short, we need help now. The question is not only about the economy, but policy as well—about the survival of democracy in our country," Yakovlev said.

'Future of Democracy' Demands Honecker's Return

PM0609214191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[A. Ostalskiy report: "E. Honecker Must Be Returned to Germany Immediately"]

[Text] Following the Gulf war, when the defeated Saddam Husayn—as it seemed at the time—suddenly disappeared from mass media view for a short time, a

report appeared in the Western press saying that he had been given asylum in the Soviet Union.

Even the most reputable newspapers did not refute this story from the outset and even a REUTER observer did not consider it implausible. Then Western journalists explained why this was: All this did, after all, occur after Erich Honecker—the most unpopular man in what was the GDR—was abducted from Germany. This act did considerable damage to our still-shaky international reputation, and you could then even easily believe in Saddam Husayn's fleeing to the USSR or something worse. This Soviet disregard of the norms of international law came as an unpleasant surprise not only to the world but also to the advocates of reform within our country who had yet another serious cause for alarm, evidence that perestroyka was not so "irreversible." In a certain sense Honecker's abduction warned the people of the impending appearance of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Only naive people could believe the official assurances that Honecker was abducted for "humane" reasons. Sickness and ailments do not generally prompt our state to spare its own criminals—political or penal. There could not, of course, be any question of the validity of political asylum for E. Honecker, since he is under threat of judicial prosecution not for his convictions but for specific actions that caused the deaths of many people and also for misappropriating state funds. However, we have frequently demonstrated our lack of mercy in other cases. For instance, out of respect for another country's sovereignty, for instance, a year ago we handed over to China a military pilot who had the misfortune to think that he would be able to find refuge in our country from the persecution of a totalitarian regime. He was handed back for punishment—unlike Germany, China employs the death penalty and other brutal penalties.

Just think: The USSR was prepared to risk complicating its relations with Germany, risk losing the respect of states and peoples, risk going without credits and food aid for the sake of... Not for the sake of a sick, wretched old man, in actual fact. One cannot suspect the perpetrators of operation "Honecker" of such "sentimentality." Even the German court gave no grounds for assuming that any brutality would be displayed toward the former ruler—his punishment is expected to be rather symbolic. No, it is not of course a question of humanity—by abducting "Honecker," people in our "corridors of power" wanted to convince themselves once again of their own power and send a signal to their supporters everywhere: We are still strong, we decide big-league policy, we can still show these democrats.

Imagine if the German intelligence service helped Valentin Pavlov escape from jail and he received asylum in the FRG. Could we treat that country with respect after that and build normal friendly relations with it? Yet, from the Germans' viewpoint, Honecker is as guilty before his people as Pavlov is before ours. How long will we pursue double standards?

Until the former ruler is handed over to Germany, many people will not be confident that our state has now decided in earnest to respect international law and human rights. The longer this flagrant injustice remains unrighted, the more cause there will be for concern for the future of democracy in our country.

French Economy Minister of State Meets Gorbachev

LD0609223391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Sep

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today received Pierre Beregovoy, the French minister of state for the economy, finance, and budget. From the very start, the meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere, with a frank exchange of opinions taking place with regard to the problems of concern to Soviet society—the future of the union, relations between the center and the republics, a single market, and the international obligations of the Soviet Union.

Beregovoy passed on to Gorbachev warm greetings from President Mitterrand. The USSR president expressed his appreciation to the president and Government of France for the clear position adopted during the difficult days for our country, and for their solidarity with the peoples.

Favors Immediate Aid

OW0709144691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1325 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The French Minister of Finance, Economy and Budget Pierre Beregovoy spoke at a press-conference in Moscow on Saturday in favour of immediate deliveries of food and medications to the USSR and for technological and consultative aid to promote the economic reforms. France, he said, was ready to act on its own or within the EC format.

The minister emphasized that his visit to the USSR had made him increasingly convinced of the need to "design" a mechanism on the model of the well-known Marshall Plan in order to help Moscow carry out its reforms rapidly and to join the world economic community. He supported Soviet membership in the International Monetary Fund. The French minister said that he would expound his views at a meeting of the finance ministers of the leading Western countries on Monday.

Beregovoy said that when he met with Gorbachev and Yeltsin, the Soviet leaders did not press for part of the Soviet foreign debt to be written off though "this issue could have been discussed."

The French minister left for Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, on Saturday.

Latin America

Moscow on Verge of Changing Ties To Cuba

OW0609183891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1720 GMT 6 Sep 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" program; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union is on the threshold of a radical revision of relations with Cuba, but none of the officials who have made utterances on the issue during recent hours claim Soviet-Cuban relations will be phased out altogether. In the course of the September 6 TV link organized by the ABC company, Mikhail Gorbachev said that Soviet-Cuban relations "are being transformed to assume a new character" and "they are being put on the same footing as those with other countries and are becoming increasingly mutually beneficial." The president implied the country's economic requirements make the USSR continue deliveries of sugar, non-ferrous metals and citrus fruits from Cuba. On the other hand, the Soviet Union plans to continue to send to Cuba the raw materials and equipment it needs. This is the character Soviet-Cuban relations should take on in the future.

As for the military aspect of the cooperation, "dramatic changes are being made to it," according to Gorbachev. Touching on this subject, Yeltsin argued that the process underway in Eastern Europe should also spread to Cuba. Yeltsin said that "the Soviet troops must be gradually withdrawn from Cuba,"—an idea that is fairly confusing, despite its support by Gorbachev, since Soviet-Cuban military cooperation has up to now been perceived as being limited to arms deliveries and there were no Soviet troops on Cuban territory.

DP [Diplomatic Panorama] was reminded at the Soviet Foreign Ministry of a statement by Soviet Foreign Minister Pankin who believes that Soviet-Cuban relations will not be different from Soviet relations with other countries, given the de-ideologization of foreign policy. DP was also told that "the profound changes underway now in this country cannot help being reflected on the nature of Soviet-Cuban relations."

This process may be boosted by the first-ever visit to Moscow by Jorge Mas Canosa, president of the Cuban-American National Foundation and one of the top executives at Radio Marti who plans to press for a meeting with Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Though, according to the circles close to anti-Castro opposition, "this kind of work is being done," the Soviet president's staff has thus far been answering in the negative when asked by DP about the possibility of such a meeting. President Gorbachev, they say, has a very tight schedule because many meetings are planned with the foreign ministers coming to the USSR to take part in opening ceremony of the Moscow Conference on Human Dimension.

The Radio Marti Moscow office gave to understand that Mas Canosa's visit was "in fact, a feeler." All things indicate that the Cuban emigrant leader does not see his possible meeting with Gorbachev as an end in itself in the hope that the issues relating to Soviet aid to Cuba will inevitably be on the agenda of State Secretary Baker's talks in Moscow next week.

Cuban Opposition Leader Meets Yeltsin, Pankin

LD0609223691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2055 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Here is a (sensational) report. Leaders of our country and Russia have just had talks with the Cuban opposition.

[Correspondent A. Vagin] There has never been anythng like this in the history of our country. A delegation headed by Jorge Mas Canosa, leading opponent of the Cuban Government, and Larry Smith, U.S. congressman from the Democratic Party, have arrived in Moscow. Today Fidel Castro's government remains the only stronghold of communist ideology on the American continent. Twenty percent of Cuba's dissident population is in exile.

According to the opposition, it was precisely Moscow's money and support that have so far been helping the commandante and his supporters to stay in power. Larry Smith declared that if financial assistance to Cuba were to continue, a large group of U.S. congressmen would vote against U.S. aid for the USSR, because there are fears that this would also feed Cuba.

Certain accords were reached at meetings with Yeltsin and Pankin. But that was not Moscow's last word, and the opposition is leaving the USSR only with hopes of the president's guarantees.

Political & Social

CPSU Allegedly Linked to Secret Currency Deals

PM1009074591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by S. Sokolov: "CPSU: Keep Your Money in a Swiss Bank?"]

[Text] The man who gave me this information was given a friendly warning that he should not go out without a bodyguard. The man who gave this man the information frankly fears for his life, fears that one day he will accidentally fall out of a window, get run over by a car, or simply be shot. This bank employee has seen documents testifying to four major financial deals in which the CPSU and the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] are directly involved. It is a question of so-called transfer operations to move a total of 280 billion rubles [R] in dollars. The rubles remained in the Union, but in the accounts of as yet unknown foreign money changers, and about $12 billion were concentrated in secret special accounts abroad.

The approximate scenario of these deals is as follows:

December 1990. With the assistance of state security, approximately R100 billion are converted at a rate of R15-18 to the dollar. As a result $5.5 billion are deposited in special accounts in Western banks.

January 1991. A transfer operation for R25 billion is carried out. Four months later, on 4 May, a further R15 billion are converted. In total this exchange brings another $2 billion to the dollar collectors.

Finally, in August, directly on the eve of the coup, the biggest deal of all is carried out: R140 billion are withdrawn from state circulation and 4.5 billion in hard currency "leaves" for the West.

On what terms were these deals carried out, who implemented them, and how is it planned to use the billions frozen in Western special accounts?

We have already received confirmation of the involvement of the CPSU and the USSR Gosbank in these transactions from a representative of the U.S. firm International Business Communication (his whereabouts is known to the editorial office). We have already reported that the day before the coup he was told at the USSR Gosbank to convert money belonging to the CPSU. The businessman held talks on conversion directly with Gosbank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko. Incidentally, this greatly astonished the International Business Communication representative, since he knew of Gerashchenko's order prohibiting transfer operations in 1991.

So is it a matter of the affair of the R280 billion? Who will dispose of them in the Union, and how? And at the same time is it a matter of the affair of the $12 billion hidden in the safes of unknown Western banks? Of billions that have disappeared, never to return? KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's investigation continues. Four days ago we knew for sure of the existence of bank documents—sales notes (receipts, as it were, confirming the transfer of money)—and four days ago we had some chance of obtaining photocopies of them. But apparently we were too late. Today these documents may well have been destroyed. Time is passing. And so all the suppositions about the four transfer operations must be immediately checked. Especially as, as I saw for myself from conversations with many well informed deputies, the rumors about giant transfer deals are no news to them:

A. Vladislavlev, vice president of the Science and Industry Union: "I am certain this took place. Everything is so corrupt. But it is too soon to talk specifics."

Economist P. Bunich: "I too believe in this. I believe it implicitly. But we know nothing. Absolutely... And we have to break through this veil of secrecy."

B. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee: "I too have heard about transfer operations. But I do not think that this is true. Because even a transfer leaves traces. And so if anyone did engage in this kind of activity, he was running a very big risk. You would scarcely find people in the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs bold enough to embark upon such crazy transactions. After all, this is essentially embezzlement of the people's property."

Finally, no doubts about the likelihood of the four transfer operations were expressed by probably the "main expert" on this question—Gennadiy Filshin, former deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, whose name was linked by his fierce denouncers with the "crime of the century"—the "affair of the 140 billion." Today, incidentally, experts have finally calculated the profit missed as a result of this abortive deal: $1.2 billion, $800 million of which Filshin and his colleagues were proposing to use to buy food while the rest was to have gone on clothing and footwear.

Filshin sees nothing but benefit in such commodity transfer operations. Especially as he reckons that the population has over R700 billion in its hands. Noncommodity transfers where money is converted on unknown terms and the hard currency is hidden in safes are quite another matter. What is the point of them? What is the purpose?

Who will answer these and other questions? Who will check these claims? As I have seen for myself, none of the deputies' commissions and government commissions created recently to investigate the August events is checking in real earnest the CPSU's financial activity and checking the activity of USSR Gosbank structures. Or else they are not publicizing their investigation. Which essentially amounts to the same thing. Money thrives on careful accounting, and the accounting can only be public.

Data on Financial Assets Emerges

PM0909154791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by S. Taranov incorporating interview with Aleksandr Muzykantskiy, deputy premier of Moscow's government: "Another Half a Billion Party Rubles Found"]

[Text] On 2 September the Commission for the Registration of CPSU Property, organized by the Moscow authorities, learned of another 500 million rubles [R] belonging to the Communist Party kept in one of the capital's commercial banks. Thus in just a few days the sum of party money officially declared by CPSU Central Committee functionaries has increased from R2.3 billion by a cool billion. However, specialists consider that in reality the CPSU's financial resources are much greater.

As with the previous article on CPSU property ("Half a billion Found. Where's The Rest?"—IZVESTIYA No. 208) we start this one by stating that the information about the party's resources was not obtained in any way from CPSU Central Committee workers or its structures. On this occasion it was given to the lawful authorities by the director of a commercial bank who specified that initially the deposit made by the Central Committee Department of Affairs was exactly R1 billion, but that several months ago half the sum was reclaimed by the owner.

It is now clear today that the waiting game played by the financiers in Old Square regarding deposits in commercial banks and the incorporation capital of joint ventures was not accidental. Whereas in the first days after the putsch and the subsequent sealing of Communist Party buildings you could cite a lack of available documents, the increased difficulty of access to the buildings, or even the unexpected suicide of CPSU Central Committee Administrator of Affairs N. Kruchina, now any delay in handing over information is regarded as patent unwillingness to reveal that holy of CPSU holies—its financial secrets.

[Interview with Aleksandr Muzykantskiy, deputy premier of Moscow's government, starts]

[Muzykantskiy] On the evening of 26 August I met with Nikolay Yefimovich Kruchina in his office on Old Square. He was outwardly calm and talked willingly about the structure of party property and its specific features. We advised each other on how best to look after and use it. And the only thing that noticeably disturbed Kruchina was the question of finances. The administrator of affairs stressed: Finances "are not a purely Moscow problem," it it has to be discussed at a "higher level"... The next morning he was dead. But it is typical that even now Central Committee workers Luchinskiy and Mishin are trying to keep the question of party money outside the purview of the Moscow authorities and our commission for the registration of CPSU property.

[Taranov] Incidentally, Mishin describes in PRAVDA the meeting with the Moscow leadership as a "spectacle, a kind of press conference," since at the working conference "the hall was chock-full of the press, television cameras, and floodlights"... And goes on to conclude that "there is no strict correspondence to the laws at all in the actions of the Russian and Moscow authorities." After making such accusations you cannot expect them to rush to hand over party secrets.

[Muzykantskiy] We agreed from the very outset that all the commission's work would be public. There are no closed conferences held in offices or behind-the-scenes allocation of nationalized party property. That is the only way to avoid a CPSU tidbit going from one set of bureaucrats into the hands of another. And for Mishin, who is accustomed to hugger-mugger conferences, the presence of the press was a surprise.

Incidentally, we do not today specially count upon the favors of CPSU functionaries. We pin far more hopes on business people. We will clearly be writing to the Moscow Banking Union asking to be given information on CPSU deposits—naturally with subsequent maintenance of confidentiality and commercial secrecy. It is important that CPSU money is not withdrawn from banking circulation, only it cannot be claimed by its owner. So the banks here do not from a financial standpoint suffer—except those which take too long over deciding whether to give information on CPSU resources to the lawful authorities or not. Anyway, sooner or later, the whole secret will come out, and you do have to look after your own prestige constantly.

[Taranov] And has anything becoming clearer regarding CPSU money invested in joint ventures?

[Muzykantskiy] It is becoming clearer. Many joint venturse are located in buildings belonging to the CPSU. The Institute of Contemporary Social Problems alone houses six sizable leaseholders. They have not all been set up with party money. But, for example, the "Lyubava" joint venture, which is made up of former CPSU Central Committee staffers, is located in the premises of an institute of the CPSU Central Committee, which is, incidentally, also its founder. The "Komserv," "Delavia," "Rosbri"... joint ventures are also there. Meanwhile at the conference held by Yu. Luzhkov CPSU representatives could only recall the existence of... one joint venture (producing printed material), which, incidentally, has never produced anything except losses.

[Taranov] A charge laid against you is that even before you have properly taken over party property disputes have broken out between Russian and Moscow departments about dividing it up. How will it actually be divided up, then?

[Muzykantskiy] No official agreed decision on the use of party property has yet been taken at either Moscow or republic level. Nor is there a legally competent commission or state organ which could tackle contentious issues or a mechanism for tranferring property. Today we are only talking about the safeguarding, stock-taking, and registration of property. I can only say that a large part of party assets will be used in the interests of the people. I also deem it essential to transfer some of the premises to the new political parties and public organizations. It is abnormal when the Russian Democratic Party is holed up in a basement while the headquarters of the "Democratic Russia" movement has been scattered among the nooks and crannies of several Moscow rayon soviet executive committees since the blowing up of their single-story premises. By providing them with normal accommodation, we will thereby be laying real rather than merely rhetorical foundations for a multiparty system.

Businessmen Tracking Down CPSU Assets

LD1009054291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The Moscow entrepreneurs' convention has set up a special commission to track down the CPSU's money. Experts believe that the total amount of money held in secret accounts and shares in joint-stock companies comes to approximately $100 billion.

Democratic Congress Calls for Security Conference

OW0909171091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The interparliamentary conference of the Democratic Congress [DC] which attracted representatives of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Kirghizstan, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, concluded in the Kirghiz capital Bishkek on Sunday.

The conference adopted a statement saying that the increasingly tangible "disintegration of the totalitarian communist empire" in the wake of the failed coup "has assumed largely civilized forms owing to the efforts of pro-democracy parties and movements." The statement stresses the point that in some of the former Union's republics, e.g., in Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan, the totalitarian regime's dismantlement is not yet over.

The Democratic Congress is ready to facilitate the conclusion of inter-republican agreements on economic and banking coopertion, ecological security, the observance of human rights, and on collective security and defense.

As a priority measure, the DC suggests that all the ex-members of the Soviet Union hold a conference on security and cooperation with a view to discussing the main directions of inter-republican cooperation and a system of collective security. It also favors convening an interparliamentary conference on economic cooperation among sovereign states.

The Democratic Congress unites 42 pro-democracy parties and movements in 13 republics.

Zhirinovsky Wants Baltic Independence Canceled

LD0909205191 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Vilnius September 9 TASS—In a Lithuanian radio interview, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, has stated that his chances to become president of a confederation in the USSR had considerably grown following the failed coup attempt.

Such an optimistic forecast, he argued, is accounted for by the fact that "the communists as a political party now have scanty prospects while the democrats clear the way towards power for our party and for me personally as a potential candidate for the presidency of a confederation."

As far as the democrats are concerned, Zhirinovsky's opinion is that "they are much weaker than the communists, more loosely united. They have neither KGB, an army or wide experience".

In addition, the democrats' government falls on the most difficult period for the economy. Therefore, they are sure to have setbacks and crises "that would push away from them the vacillating proportion of the electorate that support them so far".

Touching upon the recognition of the independence of the three Baltic republics by the country's council of state, Zhirinovsky said: "I view this negatively and when I become a president of the confederation I would cancel the recognition and would deem it invalid.

"Since we try to eliminate the old totalitarian system, it is necessary to revert to the borders of September 1917 when we had the Baltic Gubernia and when there was no independent Lithuania, Latvia or Estonia".

Communist 'Underground' Meeting Reported

LD0909221591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2047 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It must be said that this is not the only meeting in Moscow which found itself today at the center of attention of news agencies of various countries. As became known today, the first clandestine meeting of the organizing committee for restoring the Communist Party took place in Moscow today. As assumed, the meeting took place in the conditions of the strictest secrecy. But our correspondents succeeded in arranging a meeting with the leaders of the communist

underground and possibly on Wednesday we will learn new details about this meeting.

And, for the time being, information received by telephone: Twenty-seven members of the new organizing committee, who represented, according to them, from 1.5 to 2 million communists from Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other towns of Russia and the Ukraine, met in conditions unusual for our party members—not in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and not even in the hall of the Oktyabrskaya hotel, but in a private apartment. As they say, the weather was not suitable for picnics. Among them were two members of the CPSU Central Committee, one member of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, several secretaries of primary party organizations, and also workers, scientists, and white collar workers.

As we understand it, the new League of Communists is not seeking to revive the previous CPSU, which, according to them, has been discredited through and through by the policy of its leadership, but is advocating the soonest possible legalization of the Communist Party.

In the event of the self-liquidation or break-up of the CPSU, the new League of Communists is prepared to claim its right of succession. The new party will hold its constituent congress only after the question of the fate of its predecessor has been finally resolved.

So then, details on Wednesday. [video shows apartment block, woman holding her hand in front of the camera]

Gorbachev's 'Services to History' Viewed

PM1009085191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by movie director Vladimir Motyl: "What Would Have Become of Us Had Gorbachev Not Learned to Compromise?"]

[Text] On that sunny day, when a desperate guy climbed onto iron Felix to sling a rope around the idol's neck, there was a noisy crowd on Staraya Ploshchad in front of the CPSU Central Committee. People were shouting, laughing, and whistling. My head was spinning from the realization that this was not just a "taste of freedom" (as Okudzhava put it when referring to 14 December 1825) but freedom itself that I was smelling and breathing in deep. And suddenly, amid the laughter and shouts, came the heartrending wail "Down with the 'Hunchback'!" ["Gorbatyy"—pun on Gorbachev].

I turned round. He was a tall, fat, sweaty 17-18-year-old, seemingly the worse for drink. How greatly he differed from the young people I had seen on the embankment outside the White House, unhurriedly collecting everything in a businesslike way to make barricades or sitting around their fires in the nighttime rain waiting for the attack. Their quiet conversation concealed a kind of scarcely perceptible cohesion. And their faces betrayed no malice or hatred—those abiding concomitants of belligerent rudeness which have always nourished national socialists—be they brown or red.

I remembered that after the Novo-Ogarevo meeting the Russian president promised that he would not offend Gorbachev. It was the Yeltsin who had rejected Gorbachev, the Yeltsin whom the Soviet president once treated with greater hatred the higher his "rival's" popularity rose, who—with truly Russian magnanimity—lent Gorbachev a hand at this desperate moment. "If you're going to forgive, forgive wholeheartedly; if you're going to have a party, invite everyone."

But at a time when one of our embassies in Europe was hanging out a banner with the affectionate word "Gorby" as a sign of solidarity with Russian democracy, our attitude to the president remained ambiguous, to put it mildly. It would not have been worthwhile recalling the distorted look on the young loudmouth's face at the beginning of these notes, had it not been for the negative attitude toward Gorbachev among a very significant section of society. And this attitude emerged long before recent events.

I recall how, at the height of the rivalry between the two leaders, we used to deride the group of "true-believer" intellectuals who set up the committee for the defense of Gorbachev. When, in the face of virulent opposition from the party nomenklatura, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet miraculously elected Yeltsin as its chairman, I proposed that the Cinematography Workers Union set up a committee for the defense of Yeltsin. To defend him against whom? Against Gorbachev, of course! Admittedly, I received no support at the time.

It is obvious to all that the president of the country is himself to blame for the decline of his popularity. There is no problem recalling his failings. And most of the rebukes leveled against Gorbachev at the Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies were convincing. But if we are entering world civilization, then judging someone without a lawyer means returning to communist barbarity. Let us recall how it all started.

He emerged in 1985 as a dazzling messiah in the period of stagnation. He gave millions of despairing souls hope of liberation. He started to remove fear, sight returned to the blind... Then the euphoria was replaced by disappointment. By 1988 it seemed to us that nothing in the country was changing, at a time when the main element had changed—our own selves. Because we were no longer breathing the stench of lies but the oxygen of truth. We were even unfair about his Nobel Prize, because the list of his mistakes, contradictory acts, concessions to reactionaries, and objective complicity in antipeople games had grown.

I have no doubt that all the reasons which led to the former idol of the democrats being rejected will come to light. However, the list of our grievances cannot overshadow the main point. He continued the work of the

prophets—Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. He succeeded in shaking up the system of lies and moving the CPSU away from dictatorial power. It is hard to overestimate what he has achieved. Yelena Bonner, who is by no means generous in her compliments to politicians and who frankly presented Gorbachev with an accounting whenever he gave her reason to, said after the rout of the putschists: "The thousands who came to the White House were helped to see by Mikhail Sergeyevich. This is a great service to history."

Now that the plotters' plans and the reality of the party apparatus' support for them are known, now that the scale of the gigantic party mechanism which opposed Gorbachev and long threatened him is clear, the president's services to history are beginning to look like a major feat.

Who knows what would have become of us had this major politician not learned to trim and compromise. Would our fledgling democracy have survived? When it was taking its first, unsure steps, when it was disorganized, and when the forms of reaction were consolidating, it would have cost the all-powerful "octopus" of the CPSU Military-Industrial Commission nothing to have stifled it. The nomenklatura tolerated Gorbachev with his moderate centrism for as long as his "balanced" policy provided a brake on radical reform. But when democracy started gathering pace, when the system was rocked by the miners' strikes, and when the people elected Yeltsin as Russian president, the "octopus" felt that its existence was really threatened. Then Gorbachev started irritating the elite like a bone in their throats.

I am convinced that, had the enemies of democracy not been facing a politician like Gorbachev—who made considerable efforts to restrain reaction—then, for all Yeltsin's heroism and for all the energy of the democratic movement, it would hardly have been possible to avoid civil war. That is why it is jarring when recognition of the courage shown by a national hero—Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin—is mingled at the celebration marking the velvet victory with abuse of the father of perestroyka. History will determine how much Yeltsin and Gorbachev needed each other and how much we all needed them to save the people and the state.

It is a well-known paradox that history's greatest lesson is that nobody ever learns a lesson from it. Remember the middle of the last century. Succeeding the reactionary autocrat Nicholas I, Alexander II revived Russia's progress toward European civilization. Serfdom was abolished. The zemstvos [local councils] were set up, along with new newspapers and universities. Press regulations were established. The Finns and Poles obtained civic freedoms. How did "our" extreme left-wingers react to these liberal reforms? They murdered the czar. In their view, he was inconsistent and insufficiently radical. I have seen majestic memorials to the Russian liberator tsar in the center of Sofia and Helsinki. The fatherland does not have a single worthy monument to this great reformer.

Let us go back to the early years of last century. The despot Paul was succeeded by the young Alexander. For the first time in Russian history he proclaimed the supremacy of the law over all—aristocrat and peasant alike—and ordered a constitution to be drawn up. He freed the peasants in the Baltic, allowed his subjects to travel abroad, opened up free printing presses, and reformed the administration of the state. Alexander, indulging the spirit of freedom, set up the Imperial Lyceum which enriched the fatherland's spiritual culture with many names (Pushkin, Delvig, Kyukhelbeker, and, among later graduates, Saltykov-Shchedrin, Petrashevskiy, and Mey).

Encountering rabid opposition from reactionary aristocrats (the then nomenklatura), who did not want to concede on the principles of feudal authority, the tsar gave way. He was forced to remove his most devoted reformer—Speranskiy—from office and replace him with the obscurantist Arakcheyev. The mutiny of the Semenovskiy Regiment was put down, and secret societies banned. Admittedly, Alexander did not permit any denunciations regarding plotters or even plans to murder him.

And Pushkin, the disgraced poet who had in his youth composed epigrams about the tsar (for which he was exiled) wrote the following to his friends just a month before the death of Alexander I and two months before the Decembrist Uprising:

"...He was a man! He was ruled by the moment,

"He was a slave to rumor, doubt, and passion;

"We will forgive him his unjust persecution:

"He took Paris, he founded the Lyceum..." Yet this was a year when the tsar's "rating" in the eyes of Russia's leading intellectuals had dropped to zero. Among those to whom the poet turned were active secret society figures. Pushkin knew about the intention of the "left-wingers" to threaten the sovereign's life. But the poet who had suffered at the czar's hands rose above these personal affronts to the truth and to God.

Will we be able to draw lessons from history in the historic year of 1991? Despite the failure of the putsch, society's main contradictions have not been overcome. They have merely gone underground for a while. Today democracy has considerable support—from most young people, the intelligentsia, and a considerable number of workers, soldiers, and junior Army officers. And yet this is by no means the entire people.

The Stalinist and Brezhnevite legacies—an embittered partyocracy together with what were until recently privileged administrators; all kinds of former overseers and controllers of the distribution of benefits; and some of the elite of the Army political command—all this represents virtually the world's largest parasitical bureaucracy, curtailed by August. And then there are the many thousands of KGB agents who had monitored the people

and are now out of a job, and the considerable number of workers and kolkhoz members who have grown unaccustomed to honest, professional work and are swelling the ranks of the declasse lumpen and the criminal world. Finally, there are belligerent idiots of all ages and social groups, providing fertile soil for national patriots.

At a time when hard-right extremism has been halted—halted but not extirpated—an equal threat is posed by hard-left extremism. Pray God they do not manage to split the democratic forces' emergent unity.

It is dangerous to forget that all categories of the enemies of democracy are also part of our people. There are tens of millions of them, and when you take account of family ties the number of the enemies of democracy can be doubled if not tripled. It is on all of them, on "our people," that the latter-day adventurist fuehrers—whom intellectuals consider it good form to mock and deride—are counting. Meanwhile, these blatant allies of the putschists have been strolling around as honored guests of the Congress. People in Germany once made fun of Private First Class Schickelgrueber, while we laughed at the Bolsheviks after the velvet February in 1917. This laughter bodes ill, because it represents our historic rudeness. Or our short memories, which is no less dangerous.

Shevardnadze Assesses Gorbachev Blame for Coup

LD1009044791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Appearing on the popular weekly political program of the French television channel TF-1, Eduard Shevardnadze, former USSR minister of foreign affairs, assessed Mikhail Gorbachev's responsibility for the events in Moscow on 19 August. Shevardnadze believes that the USSR president made two serious mistakes. The first was the selection of people for his team, and the second was disdain for serious analysis of the situation that had taken shape in the country on the eve of the putsch. All this led to the attempted coup. The former minister refuted the position that Gorbachev was well informed about the coup that was being prepared.

Cited on Future Economic Union

PM0909101791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, AFP, AP, and REUTER roundup]

[Text] All the republics will evidently join an economic union where, given market relations, the center will not play the decisive role, according to Eduard Shevardnadze, one of the leaders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms.

In his opinion, there is no other solution: It is impossible to reorient the state and the republics toward the West if the union is abolished and economic ties are destroyed. This process will take 10-15 years, the well-known politician thinks.

Transition Under 'Strong Authority' Urged

914B0377A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by Aleksey Kiva, doctor of historical sciences: "End of an Empire or Start of a Union?"]

[Text] For the first time since the moment of perestroyka Gorbachev has been freed from the Central Committee structures entangling him and the rigid pressure from the right. And for the first time he is expressing a readiness for radical reforms. In a matter of days not only have we become different, but the president also has become different it would seem. And let us behave in scrupulous and civilized fashion. If we entrust things to Gorbachev, then enough of subjecting him to suspicion. Without trust and without broad support, in an atmosphere, as he himself put it, of "blackmail, humiliation, and insults," Gorbachev cannot perform his role in this, perhaps, most difficult period of our history in many decades.

I have begun with Gorbachev because I have always believed that he should go hand in hand with B. Yeltsin. Boris Nikolayevich is today at the height of fame, and Mikhail Sergeyevich, who has experienced heavy stress, is in need of our support. But not just for this reason. It has seemed to me that his position on the Union reflects the historical moment most inadequately. If we allow its chaotic breakup in accordance with the "first let us sever relations and then unite" formula, the August victory over totalitarianism will be the prelude to our devastating defeat.

The forces which prepared the putsch have not disappeared from the political stage. Their ringleaders have been neutralized at best. But let us admit that the coupists had many supporters in various parts of the country. In the shape primarily of citizens who are far removed from politics and who are weary of the burdens of perestroyka and whom it is easy for adventurers to lead astray. It is to them primarily, most likely, not to mercenary-minded groups, that it needs to be explained why preserving the imperial Union is not only impossible but also not necessary and criminal even, bearing in mind the interests of the nation and the state.

Granted all my respect for A. Sobchak, his idea that it is first necessary to rid all the peoples of our republics of the structures of communist totalitarianism and only then examine the question of the full independence of these peoples, if this is what they aspire to, is, in my view, profoundly mistaken. Not democratic but fundamentalist forms of the organization of life would most likely come to replace the forcibly removed communist structures. Is this a solution? Let them decide how they are going to organize their own business. The center should no longer interfere in this.

Third, the empire predetermines the stagnant nature of the life of society. Brezhnev's stagnation is a classical example of how an imperial state and its structures bind hand and foot any initiative in society, neutralizing in planned fashion the invigorating forces of society. Well-known American political scientist A. Yanov [name as transliterated] believes that Russia simply cannot accomplish a breakthrough from a traditional into a modern society and extricate itself from the closed circle of despotism. In my view, this is the result of the imperial nature of our state. The idea of empire and the idea of freedom are mutually exclusive. But without freedom development also quickly dies away. For this reason our country has never been able to develop in a normal mode. Following an attempt at reforms and an upturn, it would necessarily sink into stagnation. There were no self-development, self-adjustment, and self-attunement mechanisms. Total coercion in the interests of preservation of the empire completely precluded their appearance.

For this reason the elimination of the "Red Empire" could provide a colossal boost to the development of our country and activate most powerful intellectual and energetic forces of the nation, which previously—I refer to the Soviet period of our history—were put to minimal use. There are already examples on this score. Freed from the burden of empire, European peoples have sharply accelerated their development. But the most outstanding successes have been scored by the countries which have simultaneously with this freed themselves also from the burden of a militarized economy. I refer to Japan and Germany.

Fourth, the attempt to realize the mad idea of world revolution and the spread of socialism and communism throughout the world and the natural confrontation with the West here ultimately engendered what we call the military-industrial complex. A state within a state. I believe that this is a unique phenomenon in world history: The military-industrial complex turned the entire country into an internal colony and began to ruthlessly exploit all the peoples. It has been estimated that approximately 80 percent of the country's industrial potential has directly or indirectly gone to serve the Army. But as distinct from the empires of Western countries, thanks to which the mother countries enriched themselves, the "Red Empire" ruined everyone. It was built on irrational principles for it set itself irrational, utopian goals.

Finally, I will cite one further factor in respect of which we need to cast off from ourselves as quickly as possible the shackles of the "Red Empire." The imperial nature of the state is reflected most negatively in social development, the mass consciousness, people's mentality, and so forth. Instead of national, imperial consciousness is cultivated. National culture does not enjoy proper development. An expansionist mentality is molded. Ultimately the primordial territory of the "imperial people" proves to be inadequately developed and neglected, and the labor ethic and morality are degraded. The forces of this people are spent primarily on serving the interests of the empire.

What is to be done in the current situation? How may the Union treaty be signed as quickly as possible with regard for the new realities? This will no longer be an empire but a union of sovereign states. Federation or confederation is immaterial. I, for example, believe that the proclamation of independence by Kazakhstan and the Ukraine should not be understood too narrowly; and that this unexpected act was provoked by the putsch and is not, as some people maintain, a reaction to the strengthening in the Union of the positions of Russia.

I will not concern myself with Kazakhstan, Belorussia, or any other republic which might suddenly declare itself independent. But as a Ukrainian, I know full well how tragic a situation it would be were the Ukraine in practice to decide to suddenly up and leave the Union. Western Ukraine, Eastern Ukraine, the areas of the dense residence of the Russian population, the Crimean Autonomous Oblast—a different situation everywhere. I personally do not, come to that, rule out the full independence of the Ukraine either but in no way other than as a result of a lengthy transitional period and within the framework of national accord and civil peace.

And under no circumstances can the republics be counterposed on a basis of who is in power in them and what their attitude toward the putsch was!

We must recognize that since the putsch the country has entered a phase of profound democratic revolution and that a special transitional period is essential in such cases. There has to be a strong authority. At any level. Whether the imposition (if necessary) of a state of emergency will be the prerogative of the Union or the republics is a separate issue. Without a strong authority we cannot switch to market relations and will suffer defeat. And not necessarily as a result of another putsch, what is more, but on an entirely legitimate basis. In the course of elections to the organs of power the citizens could give preference not to democrats but some "third force."

I rule out neither attempts at a coup nor the creation in one region or another of centers of counterrevolution. For this the center should have a rapid-response force.

The Bolsheviks were victorious in 1917 and in the Civil War not only because they had mastered the art of the seizure of power to perfection, had rapidly created a well-oiled mechanism of control and compulsion and were ruthless in accomplishing the set goal. They had in addition an excellent feel for the mood of the masses and put forward slogans which were popular among the people: "Peace to the Peoples!" "The Land to the Peasants!" "The Factories to the Peoples!" and so forth. The democrats must offer the people something real, and very quickly. They can, most likely, offer nothing other than the privatization of some state property in favor of

the working people. But this needs to be done today. Tomorrow it could be too late.

When I hear how we are today talking freely now about the sanctum sanctorum of totalitarianism—the CPSU, the KGB, and so forth—I often catch myself thinking: This cannot be, I am dreaming all this. Just recently even these structures were inducing fear in us and seemed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of our progress. And now the situation has changed abruptly. Let us not let the opportunity slip!

7 Nov Military Parade Canceled

LD0909193491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1900 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The Soviet defense minister, Marshal of the Air Force Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, has cancelled this year's traditional military parade in Moscow on 7 November. His decision comes after consultations with Mikhail Gorbachev and the Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Defense Ministry officials do not believe the display of a large amount of military hardware on 7 November could serve its purpose, particularly at the time of political and economic instability.

In the meantime, city council officials in Moscow said apart from rallies by (?separate) parties and public groups, no civic parade was envisaged either.

Republic Leaders Cited on Congress Decisions

PM0909150591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Union Edition pp 1,2

[Roundup of reports by Eduard Kondratov, Nikolay Lashkevich, Irina Litvinova, Leonid Levitskiy, Andrey Orlov, and Sergey Bablumyan under the general heading "How the Sovereign Republics Greeted the Congress Decisions"]

[Text] In previous years we would automatically have written: "Attention is focused on the Congress decisions; they are unanimously supported by the working people." Times are different now. And although the documents from the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which ended 5 September, really are the main event in our days and general attention is focused on them, opinions and assessments are by no means clear-cut. Our correspondents report the following from the localities.

Eduard Kondratov (Kishinev):

"The failure of the reactionary putsch was accompanied by the destruction in the public mind of the idea of preserving a unitary state at any price," Oazu Nantoy, cochairman of the Social Democratic Party of Moldova, told me. "The documents adopted by the Congress 5 September destroyed the most onerous legacy of the past—the peoples' mistrust of the very idea of the possibility of any kind of union. I am sure that a union of the peoples who inhabit one-sixth of the earth's land surface is vital. It is another matter that each people should determine to what extent their interests are dictated by the need for integration in that union."

As regards Moldova, the situation is very complex here and you cannot be a reckless optimist today. Moldova has to participate in what is now being called the common economic space. This is dictated by the colonial structure of its economy. Moldova will take many years to integrate even in tertiary roles in the world economy.

Nikolay Lashkevich (Vilnius):

In answer to your correspondent's request to comment on the fact that the USSR has recognized Lithuania's independence, [Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman] V. Landsbergis said:

The very fact that the USSR has recognized the independence of the Baltic countries, and Lithuania in particular, is a positive step in every respect

This decision is important not only for Lithuania but for the Soviet Union itself, as well as for the European community and the world community as a whole. By the same token, relations between the two countries are beginning to be based on the legal foundations of interstate ties.

As for the "recognition" formula, Lithuania sees it somewhat differently, according to V. Landsbergis. As we know, Lithuanian independence was recognized in 1920 under the peace treaty with Soviet Russia. Thus we are not asking for recognition of our independence, he said, but proposing that diplomatic relations be restored.

Future cooperation with the newly formed power structures in the USSR, the chairman of the parliament thinks, must be based on the development of bilateral interstate political and economic ties.

Irina Litvinova (Riga):

Dainis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet, commented on the USSR State Council's resolution on the recognition of the Baltic republics' independence as follows:

"I believe that this is a logical step that had to be taken following the mass recognition of the Baltic countries' restored independence by the West, particularly the United States. We regret that the Soviet Union was one of the last great powers to recognize Latvia's legal rights and independence, but we understand the reason for this delay.

"I believe that the fact of recognition of the Baltic countries' independence is significant not just in the history of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia but also in world history. This is the first signal that the USSR's old imperial policy has changed and that the USSR is prepared to move toward democracy."

Leonid Levitskiy (Tallinn):

Estonian newspapers have reported modestly and with restraint on the proceedings and results of the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Understandably so. The republic has made its choice.

USSR People's Deputy K. Khalik named another reason in an interview on Estonian radio:

"The Congress documents reflect views we have held for a few years. In fall of 1988 we proposed concluding a new Union treaty making provision for various forms of republic participation in a union. Our proposals were not even discussed. Today the USSR's perestroyka is beginning for real on these principles. And I hope that they will be beneficial and will help us to resolve national conflicts that have lasted many years."

A number of Estonian leaders who until recently advocated an economic treaty with the Union are now doubting its necessity. They are now maintaining that direct agreements with republics are more sensible and efficient.

Andrey Orlov (Tashkent):

"The decisions of the Congress in Moscow provide a basis for concrete work, I believe, and the main thing here is the stabilization of the economy and the renewal of broken ties," B. Bugrov, deputy chairman of the Republic of Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet, told me.

It is too soon to talk of optimism, but a hope has emerged today that we will keep the country from total disintegration and will be able to enter into a Union of sovereign states. A meeting of Uzbeks and Russians will resolve many problems: A delegation from Uzbekistan headed by republic vice president Sh. Mirsaidov is going to Moscow 6 September, according to a preliminary understanding with B. Yeltsin and I. Silayev, in order to examine a complex of questions concerning the very imminent signing of a treaty between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. I think that direct ties between the republics can be considered open, and we all have an obligation to make the most of this opportunity.

Sergey Bablumyan (Yerevan):

Analysis of the first reactions to the extraordinary Congress decisions provides grounds for some preliminary conclusions. One of them is as follows: The end of the USSR's existence in its previous form is recognized as a fait accompli. Assessing such a course of events as an objective historical process, Armenia generally understands the measures aimed at averting chaos in the economy and the uncontrollable disintegration of the country until a new system of state relations is formed, and in this connection the transfer of power to the supreme organs of management in the transitional period is being supported. The coordination of efforts by the sovereign republics in overcoming the economic crisis is assessed as a positive factor capable of stabilizing the republic's economy and continuing its reform.

"We are consistently continuing the switch to market relations, and we have recognized private ownership of all means of production including land. This allows us to continue along our chosen path without any confusion, convinced once again of the correctness of the choice we made, which has been confirmed by the democratic processes going on in the country," Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, said.

Vladimir Barkhudaryan, corresponding member and academician-secretary of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, said inter alia: I see the results of the work of the extraordinary Congress as a powerful breakthrough for democratic forces. Our society has long needed such an acceleration, and it will benefit each and every one of us. I wholly support the need for a common economic space in the country as well as the preservation of a single defense complex.

Report Rounds Up, Examines Regional Conflicts

PM0909122791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by K. Bayalinov: "On the Home Fronts"]

[Text] A decision by the Kishinev authorities to withdraw Soviet troops from the republic has been announced in Moldova. Trials of participants in the picket of the Kishinev-Center railroad have begun.

There was no shooting in Karabakh yesterday, but tension continues unabated. Over 10 people are being held hostage on each side.

After a slight lull because of the putsch, the situation on the home fronts has again deteriorated. It looks as though the country is entering upon a new round of civil war.

There is still trouble on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border. Azerbaijan's parliament assessed the proclamation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenian Republic as a "blatant violation of the constitution and a political provocation." Armenia's opinion about this is diametrically opposite. Reports from the two republics' news agencies are still further tangling the already complex situation. For instance, TURAN reports from Baku that agreement has been reached on restoring telephone communications between the Azerbaijani village of Sharag and the Armenian village of Garachinar in order to improve the exchange of information and ensure the safety of the fall agricultural work. ARMENPRESS denies this report and claims that the village of Garachinar is again coming under intensive bombardment from Azerbaijan.

Classes have been postponed indefinitely in the school in the Azerbaijani village of Shafag, because on the eve the building was destroyed as a result of bombardment from heavy guns...

The situation has also deteriorated in Moldova. It has proclaimed its independence from the Union, and the Dnestr region has proclaimed itself independent from Moldova. Arrests and sanctions against the separatists immediately began. In turn, the latter took countermeasures by blockading the railroad from the center to Kishinev. The threat of the cutting of gas, heat, and power supplies loomed over the capital. Defending the independence of the Moldovan state, President M. Snegur has issued a decree on creating the republic's armed forces. The mutual armed confrontation may end in fresh bloodshed.

Passions are still running high in South Ossetia. The sides are using heavy machine guns and grenade launchers in their dispute.

The number of refugees on both the Ossetian and Georgian sides is increasing.

Here is a new feature of the summer-fall campaign: Alongside interethnic armed confrontation, elements of civil war whereby brother is against brother and son against father are emerging increasingly clearly. Ideological sympathies and antipathies are threatening to divide some peoples into two opposing camps.

Supporters of the Georgian National Congress are holding a rally in Tbilisi to demand the removal of President Z. Gamsakhurdia, accusing him of nationalbolshevism and of supporting the State Committee for the State of Emergency. In response the government is using force—over 20 people have now been injured and two have been hospitalized with serious gunshot wounds. It looks as though both sides intend to achieve their aim at all costs.

There is trouble in Baku, where last week and this there have been rallies attended by many thousands of people and sharing the same agenda—postponing the nationwide election of the president until later and demanding the resignation of A. Mutalibov, the republic's leader.

Something similar happened earlier in Dushanbe, where supporters of the people's movement removed from office Tajik President K. Makhkamov, who expressed the interests of the administrative-communist majority of the Central Asian nomenklatura. It is noteworthy that Makhkamov's bodyguards only just managed to save their patron from the anger of the crowd.

A group of armed people from the Chechen-Ingush "national guard" has deposed the leader of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

All the above examples are a model in miniature of the civil war that seriously threatened our country in the event that the Moscow putschists had won.

PRAVDA Sees Rapid Changes in Coup Aftermath

PM0909153191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[Article by Gennadiy Vasilyev under the "View from Moscow" rubric: "Tremors Felt Around the Whole World"]

[Text] Three years ago, when there was an earthquake in Armenia, shock waves from the quake reverberated around the world. In recent weeks, the attempted coup d'etat in Moscow produced something like a political earthquake whose effects were felt the world over. And like an earthquake, where people continue to sense an uneasy stirring within the earth once the basic tremors have subsided, so too the movement of social strata provoked by the right-wing's actions continues, altering the country's political landscape.

There is a saying: Blood is thicker than water. Of course, the tremors from those crucial days shook us most of all, forcing each person to state where and with whom he stands. But it would be unjust to claim that the outside world occupied the position of detached observer. No, the outside world was also worried and shared our experiences. It appears that Soviet people are not at all the people we thought they were, many Western newspapers wrote. They have ceased to be obedient "cogs" in the state machine. Six years of democratic reforms were not wasted. With the exception of the DPRK, Cuba, Iraq, and Libya, the world was on the side of the democratic forces in our country.

The collapse of the putsch sharply accelerated the processes of long imminent changes in our country. And for anybody who—before the putsch—might have thought that these things would take years, it is now abundantly clear that there are urgent matters which must be resolved in principle at least within a few days, months at the most.

This is why the attention of mass media—keen, emotional, and anxious attention—still remains focused on Moscow. Naturally, the main focus of their interest is the Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies which has just finished, the debates it produced, and above all the resolution adopted by the congress. There is no point in being modest in the choice of adjectives, especially as they are being used by others. Western observers appraise the congress decisions as "historic," "epochal," or simply "totally unexpected." In their opinion, a new system of state relations is being formed in the Soviet Union, as if witnessing a new country's birth.

Michael Parks, observer for THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, writes: "If this plan succeeds, the Soviet Union will be transformed into a Union of Sovereign States which, in time, may reemerge in the international arena as the greatest rival to United States, the EC, and Japan." Trying to look into the future, Parks writes: "Before long, a common market will be set up involving even those republics which have opted to secede. Radical

economic reforms will be implemented so that the market forces of supply and demand will prevail, and enterprise and private ownership blossom."

Over the top? Perhaps. But I think that it is accurate in principle.

However, I do have some general comments. I believe that the activities of the "Gorbachev Administration" in the last few years were characterized by one typical shortcoming. Solutions to the ripening and often overripe economic, national, and social problems—solutions with a view to the long-term future—were delayed until eventually these very problems drove the leadership into a corner. Then it began to act feverishly, hurriedly, often elaborating completely new approaches overnight. I think that this flaw was not so much the result of idiosyncrasies in the president's character, but a consequence of his political position at the time. The initiator of perestroyka lagged further and further behind the pace of the processes he had unleashed.

Thus the collapse of the coup in our country sharply accelerated the development of political processes. But what will be the future development of new structures, whose nature is not yet clearly outlined? Judging by reaction from abroad, we are not the only ones worried about these questions. What will happen with the USSR's nuclear arsenal? How will things stand regarding the disarmament treaties which took so much time and effort to draw up? With whom will foreign diplomats and businessmen do business in the Soviet Union now?

Time and again we were warned about the "West's sinister intentions." About the fact that foreign banks may use financial levers to spark chaos in the Soviet economy. Capitalists dream day and night about undermining the Soviet Union. The scaremongers behind such notions are soon to stand before the courts on charges of high treason. In actual fact, the last thing the West needs is to see our country collapse. Political and economic chaos in the USSR represents a threat to international stability, problems of a military nature, and damage to economic activity. In short, in this matter anything which is bad for us is no good for them either.

But then we could probably expect massive economic aid from the West now? Unfortunately, this is not so. During the coup, many Western governments declared that they did not recognize the "new Soviet leadership" as constitutional and intended to halt programs for economic cooperation with the USSR. The fall of the putschists brought a flood of sympathy for Soviet people in its wake. But there is no sight of any flood of currency remittances yet. The majority of Western capitals maintain the view expressed a few days ago by U.S Secretary of State James Baker. At a news conference dedicated to his upcoming trip to Moscow, he said that the United States intends to support economic reforms in the Soviet Union and offer emergency humanitarian aid in the form of foodstuffs so as to "alleviate the anticipated shortages this winter." However, there has been no talk of massive credits.

Of course, there are few grounds for euphoria in our country. It is like a building undergoing major repairs: In order to prevent the ceiling from caving in on our heads while we work there, it is vital to replace the country's old load-bearing walls with new ones. Will such creative activity will be outstripped by the momentum toward collapse? How will we survive the possible cold and hunger this winter? But, thank God, it seems that the forward motion has begun. The ice is breaking up.

Closure of Semipalatinsk Testing Ground Hailed

LD0909211891 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 9 TASS—Not servicemen, but scientists are bosses of the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground for ten days now. This military centre was recently decreed closed by Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev. USSR Defence Minister, Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has supported this decision. And although tests will be carried out in other places, the closing of this testing ground is an important step towards a nuclear-free world, to preserve life on our planet.

"There will be no more nuclear blasts in Semipalatinsk. This is simply wonderful. However, we have fought against the Semipalatinsk testing ground not for the purpose of transferring nuclear tests to Novaya Zemlya", USSR people's deputy and chairman of the "Semipalatinsk-Nevada" movement Olzhas Suleymenov told TASS.

"I have always urged and now call on deputies of the Russian Supreme Council to adopt a corresponding decision. Our actions are a good example for foreign partners. They no longer regard us as enemies. It is wonderful that one nuclear testing ground has been silenced, but it is very bad that many others still remain active. Inspired by our first success, we will press for the closing of the remaining testing grounds, no matter where they are located."

"Scientists of all the world have long ago arrived at the conclusion that the arms race is absolutely senseless: There will be no winner in a nuclear war," USSR people's deputy, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Kurchatov atomic energy institute academician Yevgeniy Velikhov noted. "It is senseless to modernise or develop new types of nuclear weapons. It is equally senseless and, moreover, a crime against ecology to continue nuclear weapon tests. I believe we must have no other testing grounds. Nuclear explosions must be stopped on Novaya Zemlya, too, on agreement with all the world." According to Velikhov, the process of disarmament gained momentum after the Soviet Union had announced a moratorium on nuclear tests. "In the current situation," he stressed, "it would be

very good to take up again the 1946 proposals, envisaging full control over the entire nuclear cycle, an all-embracing and universal control".

Media & Journalism

IZVESTIYA To Label Official Documents

PM0909155391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Editorial Statement: "Official Documents That Interest Everyone"]

[Text] Certain documents that our editorial office received 5 September were—evidently through inertia—labeled with instructions of the type "For publication in IZVESTIYA," or "Subject to publication in IZVESTIYA." This seems like sufficient reason to recall the fact that 23 August of this year IZVESTIYA was registered as an independent newspaper and that its founder is the journalists' collective. In this connection, instructions as to what should be printed in the newspaper and when do not really seem appropriate.

However, this does not mean that in becoming independent we are refusing to publish official documents. In this case the criteria are the same as those applied to normal materials: If it is of interest to readers, we publish it.

This fully applies to the documents adopted 5 September by the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies. They are published on page 2 under the "Official Documents" [Offitsioz] rubric.

Media Minister Poltoranin Interviewed 26 Aug

LD0909113791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1643 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Interview with Mikhail Poltoranin, "chairman of the All-Union State Radio and Television Company", by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Hello! Today we are in the bastion of the democratic press, so to speak, in the Russian Federation Ministry of the Press and Mass Media. We are meeting the minister, who is also the acting chairman of the All-Union State Radio and Television Company, formerly Gosteleradio. He is Mikhail Poltoranin. [Video shows Poltoranin in office]

[Poltoranin] [Passage omitted] Our entire press can no longer remain in the hands of a group of people, a small group of people, under the control of this group, because as soon as they feel it necessary, they immediately block all channels and the press which does not want to work for them gets suspended or even banned, while the press, television, radio and other mass media are imposing disinformation onto the people. I think that today the main objective is to quickly mend the structure of our press and to demonopolize it. After all, the steps that are known to us are being taken to this end. I will speak about them a little later, but right now I would like to speak about the position of our journalists. [passage omitted]

If a journalist sides with the putschists, if he sides with a group of people, or the junta grouping which lifted up its hand against the people and democracy, than this journalist has no moral right to work. But a large number of people of this kind does exist. I think that the journalists themselves should find their positions today, to try to understand each other and to draw their lessons from this.

And now about the structures. A decree on the suspension of a number of newspapers and on nationalization of party's assets of the Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was published. I understand that those working in PRAVDA, or say in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and others, there is a shock today. We are receiving many telephone calls saying that the actions we took were against the law, that we are following in the tracks of those people who virtually several days ago, or so, were closing democratic institutions. Nothing of this kind has happened. All this has been done within the framework of the law on press, which says that monopolization of mass media is impermissible. At present the CPSU holds around 70 percent of mass media, which means that it has a full monopoly. And this, too, helped them to bring about the coup, because for several months, perhaps even for a year before the coup they have been waging an intensive campaign of rumors and of exerting pressure on people that the democrats and the very authority, which was elected by people, does not correspond to interests and that it must be fought by all available means. This his how the people were addressed. The last such address was carried by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. [passage omitted]

People and collectives should organize meetings. They should discuss and think about how they could change the form in which they function. Tomorrow or even today they might turn up and say: We have decided to turn PRAVDA or SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA into a new publication, we are journalists and founders and we are asking you for support and the ministry and government for help. Give us financial backing and we shall be an independent publication. We would be pleased to register them, for it will constitute an addition to the democratic independent publications, as it were.

The second question concerning the decree is that we allegedly banned the publication of PRAVDA. No, the only thing we have done was that we suspended its publication on Russian territory. [passage omitted] No, it is possible to publish it even today, because its editorial office can move to the town of Baku, say, where the president of the Republic supported the (?actions) of

the putschists. It is possible to print it there and to distribute it around Russia, because nobody is banning its distribution.

No one is banning its distribution. But the best thing, the best possible variant is, of course, to urgently set up an organization group, an initiative group, as they say, and to establish the newspapers which would work for the good of journalists and the people. [passage omitted]

There is yet another small thing, another topic concerning the press—the regional newspapers. Much is being said about it now. The whole thing began with a letter sent by our ministry to regional newspapers and to our printing plants, that we no longer intend to publish joint newspapers. The point here is that regional newspapers were almost all published jointly by the soviets and the CPSU. Why? First, the CPSU has deceived us. The CPSU Central Committee Administration Department and the CPSU Central Committee itself has failed to provide us this year with about 130 million rubles to sustain these newspapers. So, we took 360 million rubles from the budget and invested it in this matter. It is essential that the CPSU Central Committee makes investment on a proportionate basis so that journalists would be able to lead a normal life. They did not invest the money and a number of newspapers were simply reduced to a miserable existence. A number of newspapers were simply closed down in our country.

We realized that we can no longer do business with the treacherous organization of the CPSU Central Committee. But because the cost of newsprint and of various services is growing, it is difficult for all these newspapers to adhere to their budget, because, strictly speaking, the price of these newspapers will spiral up to almost a billion rubles.

We also said that it will be necessary to make a transfer to interregional newspapers. Interregional newspapers should be set up in the places where it is specifically possible, while where this is not possible regional newspapers should be retained. However, the main thing we would like to do in this respect, is to free journalists from under the control of local bureaucrats, from their command and their influence, to put it in a more precise way. This means that if the newspaper does what they want, they provide the money, but if it does not they block it and erect various obstacles and so on and so forth. This is why we want to free both the interregional and regional newspapers.

[Correspondent] Can we say that the nationalization of party-owned printing enterprises has been carried out in order to subsequently denationalize them?

[Poltoranin] Yes, the main task is to nationalize them so that we carry our their denationalization. We think that some kind of public enterprises and associations should be created on the basis of the pool of printing facilities which we acquired. As for me, I have an idea that we should have an association jointly with many other small associations called free press so that these printing enterprises would not move into politics and that they would print, on contractual basis, publications of any orientation, of the CPSU, democratic parties, and so on and so forth, of every orientation that may exist in our country. The same applies to denationalization. The handing over to us of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY, the APN as it was called in the past and the IAN as it is called now, was also at issue, because the entire information structure of TASS and IAN was in the center of Pavlov's group, or the junta. This is why IAN is being handed over to us and we must let it go free. The lads can set up various editorial offices there which would exist without control and without political censorship.

I know that censorship was introduced there virtually on the morning on that day. There are, of course, many excellent people there, who wanted to break the alarming news to the outside world, but they simply could not do it. If only they were independent, like our RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY. This agency and INTERFAX were functioning and played an extremely important role. This has shown that we must quickly denationalize and in this way quickly deal with tasks and draw lessons from this putsch, too.

[Correspondent] Yet another question springs to mind with regard to the putsch. Should we not think then about communication lines which should be taken out of control of these state bodies?

[Poltoranin] The issue of internal communication lines is rather more complex. Nevertheless, we are thinking about it. It appears that there was much discussion that the jamming had been stopped and that jamming devices were destroyed. But as soon as we put on the air two of our underground Russian radio stations, which we got ready in case of putsch, all 1,600 jamming devices were activated and started jamming us. We were simply cheated that they were destroyed. But even these jamming devices can be used and privatized, so that independent stations could be created. They would start working en masse, in case of another attempt at coup. The putschists will not have enough power to surpress everything instantly. Individual communications branches will, naturally, be gradually handed over to private owners.

Press' Possible Role in Future Coup Spotlighted

PM09090095191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 4

[Observer Edmund Iodkovskiy "Rejoinder": "'Spiritual Opposition' Or Theoretical Base of Putsch?"]

[Text] Henceforth free Russia becomes a civilized country, where all press publications with the exception, of course, of fascist and semifascist ones have the right to exist.

With the tacit encouragement of Kryuchkov's former department the air in our country was spoiled by overtly chauvinist publications like PULS TUSHINA (editor—

V. Fomichev, former party organizer of the poets section of the Moscow branch of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Writers Union) or RUSSKIY KLICH, of which ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA wrote three days before the putsch in the rejoinder "'Pamyat' Calls for the Ax, Using the Voice of the 'Patriotic' Press." They not only glorified as "patriots" those who killed Voykov, Teodor Nette [name as transliterated], Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg (let us remember that this was the epoch of mutual extermination by red terror and white terror) but also unambiguously incited new killings now, aiming at our young democracy.

There was, alas, the undoubted participation of litterateurs in the theoretical preparation of the putsch. It turns out that fascistizing generals gathered one month before the putsch beyond the Arctic Circle, in Novaya Zemlya, where the reindeer pastures were long ago turned into a nuclear test site. Naturally, they took along with them Aleksandr Prokhanov, chief editor of the newspaper DEN, troubadour of the Afghan adventure and of the military-industrial complex, and "nightingale of the General Staff."

During those same days Karem Rash printed in DEN a huge, full-page, bootlicking feature entitled "Yazov," where he also trilled like a nightingale: "There can be no doubt that Yazov is the most educated person in the country's leadership." "Verses are the same as songs. Yazov is full of them, like a hive full of honey." Sweet-voiced K. Rash, the siren of the generals' imperialism, added: "Yazov, like a true Russian soldier, is peace-loving by nature. But the Russian officer has always been noted for a well-aimed blow and impeccable politeness."

Yazov's hive, like Lukyanov's, was stuffed full not only with the honey of verses but also with the poison of treason. Our boys who died on the Sadovoye Koltso barricades learned what a marshal's "well-aimed" blow is like.

A. Prokhanov, Yu. Bondarev, and others composed the "Word to the People" (nicknamed the "Lay of Bondarev's Campaign" [ironic reference to early Russian epic poem]) and gave it to the traitors Tizyakov, Starodubtsev, and Varennikov to sign, dragging in a female folk singer.

Kunyayev and Belov declared definitely at the recent plenum of the USSR Writers Union that they are prepared even now, with hindsight, to sign the "Word."

"To step up patriotic work among soldiers and officers"—this was the demand of the Samara warrior Albert Makashov, the unlucky candidate for the Russian presidency. In his order No. 337 of 20 August he wrote: /"The main theoretical basis for work is the 'Word to the People' in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA."/

We should discern the invisible line where a litterateur ceases to be just that and becomes an accomplice in a very serious state crime! Whereas previously the whole of reading Russia piously believed the writer's word, what we to do now?!

This is what was discussed at the penitential USSR Writers Union plenum which gathered in the Central House of Litterateurs 31 August. Vasiliy Belov, tribune of the Supreme Soviet, drew an absurd parallel between the putschists and... the Decembrists, adding: "But Varennikov is by no means a Pestel" [one of the Decembrists]. He pointed out that he, Belov, was a member of the Central Committee, but he did not feel sorry for the CPSU: The love was without joy, and the parting will be without sadness.

Anatoliy Rybakov said in a polemic to Belov: "Other writers—USSR people's deputies—secured their deputy's title in an honest election struggle. But you, Vasiliy Ivanovich, became a deputy among the party 'squad.' Do you really have the moral right to speak in the voters' name?"

Kunyayev intimidated the gathering with the approaching "dictatorship of democrats" and a return to 1934-1937, until he was put in his place by Ales Adamovich: "You, Stanislav Yuryevich, know perfectly well that the democrats' victory does not threaten you personally in any way. However, if the putschists had won, half of the people in this hall would have been interned."

Prokhanov, DEN's editor, did not come to the plenum. Let us hope that the investigation will bring to light his role either as a theoretician or a clerk in the generals' conspiracy. He called the coup a "boon for Russia" in a 20 August "Vzglyad" television interview. DEN, which splendidly called itself "the newspaper of the USSR Writers Union," promptly changed the subtitle for a still more significant one: "newspaper of the spiritual opposition."

This is the right time to ask this question—are we talking of a spiritual opposition? Or is the theoretical base of the next putsch being formed before our eyes?

Economic

Fuel Supplies Improve; Food Supplies Worsen

OW0909155891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the past month a slight trend toward greater fuel reserves emerged at heat-and-power stations in the USSR, IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent was told by circles connected with the Economic Committee. Since August 1 coal and black oil reserves increased by 12 percent. Nevertheless they haven't reached the level fixed for this period of time in the Unified Energy System. In early August they made up about 80 percent of the norm.

In Moscow the level of fuel supplies amounts to 100 percent. However in the Caucasus and in some areas of the Ukraine fuel reserves at heat-and-power stations give rise to serious concern.

Gas deliveries on the domestic market increased by 6 percent as compared with last autumn. In the meantime gas exports decreased in accordance with agreements signed earlier and because of the urgent need to repair gas pipelines.

Potato harvesting is unsatisfactory. In early September only 23 to 25 percent of the potato crop was harvested.

Particular concern is evoked by the almost total absence of medicines, first of all those needed by patients suffering from diabetes, cardiovascular disorders and other ailments requiring uninterrupted treatment. This already has very grave consequences. For instance, medicine shortages have led to serious social complications in some cities of Western Siberia, such as Omsk.

Businessmen Organize Rally Against Price Rises

LD0809223491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 180 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Tatyana Mitkova] A rally at the International Trade Center at Krasnaya Presnaya in Moscow which was organized by the capital's entrepreneurs ended two hours ago. [video shows crowd of pensioners chanting "Down with exorbitant prices!" "Down with exorbitant prices!"]

[Kisilev] Down with exorbitant prices! chant the pensioners who decided to sacrifice their free time and to stand under the banner of Russian business. But that was afterward, after the adoption of the official resolution, when a retired Air Force colonel got up on the rostrum and formed that troop of women. Before that, respectable businessmen and nascent capitalists protested what they consider to be the arbitrariness of the Moscow mayor's office which is sending prices sky-high, increasing taxes and allocating offices in the city to foreigners. In a word, against adminstrative regulators of the market. The entrepreneurs had just found a common language with the local soviets when, all of a sudden, the mayor began to decide much, and in their opinion, too much.

[Aleksandr Krasnov] These powers have been given by a decree of the president of Russia, Mr. Yeltsin. These rights have been given to the mayor of Moscow. Unfortunately, we are learning how such documents are signed. We know that they were born deep inside the mayor's office and were signed at the president's office. I think that the mayor and the vice mayor of Moscow have let the president down.

[Kisilev] Yesterday, the businessmen declared the capital a zone unfavourable for enterprise and that is already greater pressure than today's rally. The decision adopted means that Moscow will be deprived of hundreds of thousands of jobs, inhabitants, and goods, and the city's budget will be deprived of tax contributions. It is clear that prices in the unfavorable zone will not become any lower. The enterpreneurs are demanding that Gavriil Popov be deprived of the new powers, and demand priority attention for themselves on the part of the authorities.

Unless that happens, not only Moscow but also Russia and also the present dry land, may be declared a zone unfavorable for enterprise.

Petrakov on Merits of Single Economic Space

PM0609131091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Academician N. Petrakov article: "A Single Economic Space Means, First of All, Reliable Money"]

[Text] Among the questions that must be agreed as a priority, one of the most complex, it seems to me, is that of concluding an interrepublic economic agreement.

True, all the republics, without exception, have an interest in this. What was until recently called the unified national economic complex is in effect a single plant, with its production shops scattered across various regions. This deformed and ineffective offspring of the administrative economy binds us together no less firmly than our common history and cultural traditions. Therefore, the concept of preserving a common economic space was supported at the Congress by representatives of all the republics.

At the same time, the content of the sovereignty declarations that have been adopted is sometimes in direct conflict with this concept. Remember, for instance, L. Ter-Petrosyan's statement: Armenia advocates a single economic space, but with the right to protect the republic's internal market. It will not work; the two things are incompatible.

A single economic space envisages the creation of conditions for free movement of goods and capital throughout the territory, without restrictions. The desire of republic authorities to protect their own population is understandable, particularly in the context of the destructive policy pursued by the Ryzhkov-Pavlov government. But a choice will have to be made: Either we once again make the economy a hostage to political ambition and ideological dogma, or we renounce the Bolshevist approach and start living the same way as the rest of the world. It seems to me that we have already reached the point where a sensible choice must be made, if only out of a sense of self-preservation.

In this respect the creation of a single economic space could form the basis for the establishment of new economic thinking in domestic policy. Entrepreneurship

absolutely cannot tolerate a political overlay and recognizes no laws or borders except economic ones. If it is advantageous to place Estonian capital in Turkmenia, or for an Uzbek businessman to trade in Russia, there should be no administrative obstacles to this such as high customs duties, pledges to preserve established economic ties, or bans on imports and exports of output. The governments of some republics think that by imposing various restrictions they will be taking care of their population. This is an illusion: The result will be that the population suffers far worse, because any barrier to the movement of goods and capital leads to increased retail prices. That is why not only the republics' leadership, not only businessmen, but all of us have a direct interest in the preservation of the unionwide market.

But if it is to work normally, it is necessary first and foremost to have reliable money which inspires trust in the buyer and seller. The pernicious consequences of the activity of the former Union Cabinet of Ministers lie in the fact that it destroyed the very foundations of the monetary and credit mechanism, which is what drives the economy. I think it is too late for us to restore faith in the center's ability to pursue a sensible monetary policy. All the republics—or at least, many of them—will seek to introduce their own currency. That is not very convenient, but in principle it is not contrary to the concept of a single economic space. To begin with, it will be sufficient to conclude an interrepublic payments agreement providing the opportunity to support a certain exchange rate for republic currencies in relation to the ruble and the dollar. If that is not done, rapid inflation lies in store for the republic currencies too.

A coordinated monetary policy should be supported by an agreed credit policy pursued by republic banks. It should be recognized that the main condition of a banking agreement is the total equality of the banks, including the USSR Gosbank [State Bank].

All the rest—privatization, taxation, the creation of conditions for competition, for attracting foreign capital, and so forth—must be handed over unreservedly to the republics. There is nothing so terrible about it if substantial differences develop on these points between different legislations. These differences will be corrected by the **common market**, in which whoever has the best conditions will survive. The others will be forced to adapt accordingly.

TASS Advertises Recycling Joint Stock Company

LD1009144191 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 10 Sep 91

["Advertisement—Universal Commodity Exchange"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The Universal Commodity Exchange—the joint stock "Recycled Resources of Russia" is a closed stockholder society with a charter capital of 15 million roubles divided into one hundred and fifty 100,000 rouble shares. Each stockholder can own not more than 20 per cent of the charter capital.

The exchange conducts the following operation:

—sales production and consumption of waste materials, Soviet and foreign technologies and equipment to process them,

—provides organisational, legal, scientific and engineering assistance in carrying out republican, joint and foreign projects and programmes for using recycled materials in the Russian Federation, helps set up and launches production lines, using recycled materials, and ecologically safe technologies,

—researches Soviet and foreign markets of recycled materials, provides enterprises and organisations with information on technogenic sources of natural resources, recycled materials and technologies to extract ferrous and non-ferrous metals, construction materials and mineral fertilisers from waste materials,

—examines extraction wastes and processing of natural resources.

The realisation of the exchange's programmes will help:

—considerably improve the ecological situation in the country,

—reduce the use of primary resources by 20 per cent,

—reduce transport and labour expenses in some industries,

—make large hard currency profits.

The exchange plans to hold the first tenders of basic recycled resources in December 1991.

Soviet Exchanges Experience Problems

OW0609225191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The number of exchanges (mostly commodity exchanges) in the Soviet Union now stands at over 370, compared to only about 50 in all of the world's developed and developing countries. Qualitative characteristics of the operation of Soviet exchanges, however, provide incontrovertible evidence that the Soviet Union is lagging far behind the rest of the world in this area.

Soviet economist Kamil Ivanov offers his comments on the situation.

FUTURES MARKETS ARE NONEXISTENT IN THE USSR. The most obvious and at once the most unmistakable sign of the Soviet Union's backwardness so far as exchanges are concerned is that they do not trade in futures, which is now the prevalent type of transactions conducted at Western exchanges. Exchanges where spot

goods are traded, which are mushrooming in this country, are common only in developing countries (India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brazil). This means that the Soviet Union is now being forced to introduce those wholesale market mechanisms that have been relegated to the fringe of the developed market system.

Some of Soviet exchanges announce that they are carrying out futures transactions, although in point of fact if there is a category in which these kind of transactions may be classified it is—if you stretch the definition—forward transactions. The latter, obviously, do not come within the scope of exchange activities, being as they are contracts with their terms fixed in advance or orders placed in advance, which are not regulated by public law and only in rare instances can come up in the exchange business. In contrast to futures, forward contracts are not standardised and obligations under them may be transferred to third parties.

The fact that Soviet exchanes are conducting such transactions without an appropriate regulatory framework may be seen as running ahead of the evolution of the country's exchange mechanisms.

CONTRACTS LACK AN ESSENTIAL FEATURE—UNIFORMITY. Only after spot transactions are fully standardised and begin to evolve gradually into forward ones, conditions will arise for warehouse warrants to become quoted futures contracts.

Standardisation could result in fixing the minimum amount of goods that can be traded in a single commodity exchange transaction. The volumes of the batches of goods coming up for sale at Soviet exchanges are not as yet set in advance on the basis of the sizes of standard lots. Standardisation of the quality of various product lines is also nonexistent.

FUTURES ARE AS YET EMBRYONIC. There are today numerous instances in the Soviet Union when contractual obligations to deliver goods sold through commodity exchanges are breached. For this reason, the brokerage contracts concluded by the more prudent intermediaries will often provide for goods to be delivered within two months and for the buyer to make a partial prepayment for these goods, which may be termed a margin .

The two months' delay warrants the conclusion that most transactions concluded at Soviet exchanges border on forward transactions, which constitute only a first step towards futures transactions. One feature of the latter might be seen in the payment of margins, although at exchanges in the West margins mainly perform the role of security deposits and at the same time reflect the relationship of buyers and sellers with the clearing house.

CLEARING HOUSE TO BE CREATED. The setting up in this country of the Russian National Bank and the All-Russian Exchange Bank as forerunners of a Clearing House may promote a move towards futures transactions, at least at the larger exchanges, in the foreseeable future.

Having large authorised capitals (as far as exchanges go), stock company status, as well as a combination of settlement-making mechanisms and credit resources, the two banks seem to enable exchanges, brokers, dealers and other market structures to conduct clearing transactions. Opportunities also arise, although to a lesser degree, to insure transactions, including insurance against the risk of falling prices (hedging).

The Interregional Exchange Union, the Congress of Exchanges and the Guild of Brokers, established in June this year, are now laying the foundation of a legal framework that would regulate the emerging futures market both on the national level, and on the level of individual exchanges.

SOVIET EXCHANGES DO NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-PROFITABILITY. Many of the exchanges operating in the Soviet Union do not recognize the principle of non-profitability which is generally accepted in the West. What's more, some of them continue to think it only natural to take part in bidding as artificial persons or, at least, to appropriate part of trading profits through imposing higher duties on brokers who manage to get a good price.

Soviet exchanges are registered either as open or closed stock companies, or as limited liability companies, or, out of taxation considerations, choose the status of the so-called "small enterprise."

JOINT STOCK COMPANY IS THE BEST ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE. In this respect, it is worth the while to note the initiative by the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange (RCRME) which is a closed stock company and is implementing a concept of "zero dividends," under which all income earned by the exchange is reinvested to promote the expansion of trading activities and brokers' offices.

If the RCRME had increased the rate of exchange duties, its shareholders would have gained from it as investors. At the same time, the shareholder, as the owner of a seat, stands to lose from higher duties which are subtracted from trading profits. The RCRME has opted for the shareholder earning a profit from trading at the exchange.

Bank Directors To Discuss 'Ruble Zone'

OW0909182091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 9 Alfred Bergs-Bergmanis, vice director of the Latvian Bank, left for Moscow to attend a meeting of the republic's banks' directors to take place tomorrow. The directors will discuss the Russian Central

Bank's proposal to create a "ruble zone." Under the Russian Federation's project, it is also planned to set up the Association of Banks from republics favoring the preservation of a single monetary system.

Mr. Bergs-Bergmanis told BF [BALTFAX] that though Latvia would not take part in the "ruble zone," he will take part in the meeting in order to conclude an agreement on the use of the ruble until the national currency—lats—is introduced in the republic.

Also attending the meeting will be Galina Litvinova, director of the USSR State Bank's Estonian branch (as an observer). Rein Otsason, president of the Bank of Estonia, told BF that his bank would not send its representatives to the Moscow meeting. The Bank of Lithuania dispatched to the meeting, as an observer, a member of administration Bronius Povilaitis.

VAZ Fails To Meet Export Commitments

OW0609190691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] VAZ, the USSR's largest automobile factory (annual output 700,000 passenger cars) and located in Volzhkiy, lost approximately $1 million in August of this year after it failed to deliver 34,000 cars to its foreign customers.

The factory has been unable to meet its deliveries schedule since January of 1991 because, its spokesperson says, it has not been receiving the necessary components [passage indistinct] to resume talks on an oil project in Volgograd district and large investment projects in Western Siberia.

For his part, SIL's [Scientific and Industrial League] president Arkadiy Volskiy said the Soviet Union would honour its previous deals, including Italy's $1 billion credit line to cover imports of food and other essentials

Mr. Kurakin said SIL was an association of managers of industrial companies and plants accounting for more than 60 of the country's output.

Republics Agree to Existing Transport Procedures

PM1009100591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Sep 91 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "News" rubric: "The Ukraine Observed"]

[Text] Leaders of the republics' transport management organs have deemed it expedient to agree that, for the period of reorganization of monopolies such as the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, and the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, the existing procedure for managing and ensuring transport operations should be preserved. The protocol was signed by 13 republics, including Moldova and the Baltic Republics. A Ukrainian representative was present as an observer. In the opinion of some participants in the conference, Russian Transport Minister Vitaliy Yefimov played a great role in the emergence of this vitally important document during the present transitional period.

Far East Needs Nuclear Power Plant

OW0909223191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Union's Far East, having serious power shortages, needs a nuclear power station. Experts at the USSR Nuclear Power Industry Ministry say there is no alternative to that. However, the implementation of the nuclear power plant project developed by the nuclear ministry and scheduled for 1987, has been postponed due to public protests.

A revised project provides for the commissioning of two, instead of the original four power units, having an output of 500 megawatts each, near Komsomolsk-na-Amur. Even if construction work begins this year, the first power unit will be put on stream in 4 or 5 years, and not in 1992 as originally planned.

World Economic Forum Draws Top Businessmen

OW0909004591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Business Report Cover Story," by INTERFAX staff editor Irene Ertugral; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Some 150 top Western businessmen, economists, and academics came to Moscow for the three-day meeting of the World Economic Forum, which ended Saturday, to hear from their Soviet counterarts an assessment of the problems the USSR faces as it struggles to move to a market economy.

Top Level Soviet Delegation

Addressing the visitors from the platform and/or talking with them in informal sessions were virtually all of the most powerful figures in the new Soviet post-coup political constellation: Leningrad [St. Petersburg] Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, RSFSR Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, and his three fellow members in the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Yuriy Luzhkov, Arkadiy Volsky, ex-Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and a host of ministers, bankers, academicians, private businessmen, and directors of the country's newly-burgeoning network of commodity and stock exchanges. Only more pressing commitments prevented Russian President Boris Yeltsin from coming.

Invest Now or Hold Off?

The discussions were very open and frank, with many of the Soviet speakers even vehemently disagreeing with one another. Thus, at the opening session, Leningrad Mayor Sobchak urged immediate Western investment in the Soviet economy—particularly that of Leningrad, of course. He, in fact, announced that Leningrad authorities were now ready to sell off companies to Western investors on a 100% Western ownership basis. Following Sobchak on the platform, however, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy warned the businessmen that current conditions for foreign investment in the USSR were "not very good." At the moment, he said, Western capital should be channeled primarily toward setting up a modern banking system, and improving the country's infrastructure, including its communications network and transport system.

Ruble To Become Convertible in 1992.

The most contentious issue at the conference was that of the nonconvertibility of the ruble. Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University strongly urged that the ruble immediately be made convertible, and that other problems should be settled later. Most Western businessmen in the audience agreed. Soviet economists, on the other hand, insisted that a variety of preparatory measures should precede convertibility. The issue was put to rest, however, at the closing session, when Yevgeniy Saburov, RFSFR minister of the economy, announced that the ruble would be made convertible at some, as yet undetermined date, in 1992—"no matter how hard and painful the move would be."

Inflation and Contradictory Business Laws.

The current inflationary spiral was also examined, with Yavlinskiy pointing out that prices were now rising at the "hitherto unthinkable" rate of 2-5% per week.

Western businessmen, one after the other, stressed that a major discouragement to Western investers was the USSR's lack of coherent legislation governing conditions for Western investors. "Regulations change every week, was the common complaint. The situation will be even worse, Westerners feared, when the individual republics start drawing up their own codes.

Return of Clearing System for USSR-East Europe Trade?

The drying up of trade between the USSR and its former Comecon partners, following the Soviet Union's decision in January of 1991 to demand hard currency at market prices for its exports to Eastern Europe, received particular attention from Arkadiy Volskiy, a member of the four-man committee temporarily entrusted with managing the USSR's economic affairs. "The decision was a big mistake," Volskiy said. The clearing system should immediately be reinstated because neither the USSR nor the countries of Eastern Europe have hard currency. Factories in both areas are standing idle because they cannot trade. And furthermore, to demand that they price their goods at market levels is ridiculous, when most of their output is not of a quality to reflect international standards," Volskiy added.

Changing the Psychology.

Echoing Russian Prime Minister Silayev's observation that the Soviet Union's biggest obstacle on the path to a market economy is the "psychology of its people," Jordi Pujo, President of Barcelona's Generalitat de Catalunya commented that, as far as he could tell, the USSR lacked a culture of risk, of competitiveness, and of effort. "Who is really telling the Russian people," he said, "that prior to becoming a consumption [as received] society, they will have to become a society of effort?"

Train Now, Invest Later.

Many of the Soviet speakers pleaded for Western help in training Soviet personnel in virtually every field of economic activity. "We need your intellectual assistance much more than we need money from you," was the way Arkadiy Volskiy phrased it.

And indeed, Western businessmen surveyed after the conference ended all seemed very willing to help wih advice and know-how. But, as for important investment decisions, the consensus was that these would have to wait until the political situation in the USSR clarified.

The delegates were particularly concerned about the prospects for continuing ethnic conflict in the USSR. As Michael Zapf of Germany's Bank Julius Bar put it, "If the various republics each adopt their own currency, they will all invariably have their own armies as well, and there won't be any central power to control the conflicts that will break out within and between the republics." Furthermore, a breakdown of trade between the republics would be a much more serious blow to the economy of the USSR than was the loss of the Comecon markets."

However, a gentler note to the barrage of criticism of the USSR's economic scene (both from Soviets and Westerners) was the comment by a delegate from South Africa: "At times, I was irritated by the arrogance of some of the remarks made by delegates from the most prosperous Western countries. They should be more appreciative of the problems the Russians face at this time—and not just offer overly simplistic solutions..."

Electronics Firms To Open Moscow Service Centers

OW0809223991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This autumn the companies Progress Trading (Sharp), Gold Star and Samsung are opening service centres in Moscow for their consumer electronics goods.

According to the contracts signed with the Soviet company Orbita-Service, these companies will take responsibility for carrying out some of the construction work and equipping the center, as well as organizing a training program for Soviet personnel.

Components and spare parts required for repairs will be supplied by Japan and South Korea, and charges for the repairs will be only in rubles. The center will repair Japanese and Korean made consumer electronics purchased in the USSR during a five-year period following the expiration of the guarantee.

In addition to Moscow, Orbita-Service will set up service centers for imported consumer electronics—including products by Sharp, National Panasonic, Gold Star and Samsung—at some 20 other Soviet cities.

Ireland Sets Up Joint Venture at Gas Field

OW0809223891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2040 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Irish company UNDUS [expansion unknown] and the Soviet state company Urengoygazprom, one of the biggest Soviet producers of natural gas, set up a joint venture [JV] to export gas condensate from the Urengoy gasfield in West Siberia to Europe.

The Irish firm will also help its Soviet partner (who owns 49% of the new JV) create tourist facilities in West Siberia, reports the Moscow newspaper BUSINESS AND BANKS.

According to the agreement, UNDUS is entitled to 51% of the profits.

Contest Planned for Safe Nuclear Reactor Design

OW0909222691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2047 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry is going to hold a national contest for the safest units for atomic and thermal power stations. The contest will take place in Obninsk, the Kaluga region in the centre of Russia. Apart from Soviet organizations and industries Western firms will be able to participate. "Electricite de France" is one of the first applicants.

The participants in the contest are expected to present reactors, including water-cooled and fast reactors. The reactors are going to be placed underground in hilly terrain or inside abandoned mines.

The Soviet Nuclear Power Ministry has said that at first the contest will be held for the Leningrad Nuclear Power Station (one of the four nuclear power plants in the USSR having the Chernobyl type reactor). The service life of the first power units will be over within several years. The contest is expected to make it possible to replace facilities going out of operation with new ones by 2000.

Agricultural

'Dispiriting' Harvest Figures Reported

LD0909195191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The political storms have recently pushed the problem of supplying the country with food into the background. But it looks very much as if it will again become extremely acute in the very near future. This evening, the USSR State Committee for Statistics provided exhaustive and rather dispiriting information for the beginning of September. Grain yields in virtually all republics have been 7.7 quintals per hectare lower than last year. State purchases of grain amounted to 29 million tonnes, or 38 percent of the state order. As you will understand, this is even less than last year. Potatoes are almost all still in the ground; only 6 percent of the area has been harvested.

A paradox: foreign news agencies report that Ukraine intends to buy 5 million tonnes of grain abroad, while no great shortage of their own grainis expected in Ukraine. It is simply that the collective farms are refusing to deliver the grain, considering it, not without reason, as the only convertible currency that we have.

Difficulties with Post Coup Harvest Noted

914A1131B Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Mikhail Silvanovich, editor of SELSKAYA ZHIZN's science and production department: "Put the Genie in the Bottle and the Cow in the Field!"]

[Text] The reader has probably noticed: Each Thursday—since two weeks ago each Friday—our department publishes on the front page a release from the press center of the USSR Ministry of Food and Agriculture on the progress of harvest and bread grain procurements. We received this release this week, too. Still, we could not bring ourselves to simply reprint the information in its telegraphic brevity. Seven days have passed since the previous publication, some 166 hours. Remember how we have been taught since childhood that during harvest time, every hour or even every minute counts. We have also been taught that harvest is a common cause, both for those living in the city and in the rural areas. Because everyone wants to eat. Because the harvest is always a question mark: Will everything that was grown be on our tables during the long winter?

Autumn is coming, as the song goes, and August is outside the window... It is already the end of August. Only one-third of the minimum need in state bread

procurements have been fulfilled. The yield in the fields is not so high this time, but it is not too bad, either: We are harvesting on average 19.5 centners per hectare. This is without including corn, the harvest of which still lies ahead. Let us not anger the Lord—one can live with this kind of harvest. But it all needs to be harvested, stored, processed into flour, macaroni, cereals, and mixed fodder. We also know that state storage facilities are the best bet. They are located in both large cities and in the most remote rural backwoods. All kinds of dressing-sorting industries are there. Drying machines are there. Finally, mills are there.

Nevertheless, during the past week—from 19 to 26 August—kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], individual peasants and privately-owned farms delivered only 2.3 million tons of bread grain to these storage facilities.

We know that grain production is the most technologically equipped branch of agriculture. Although these days there is a shortage of fuels and spare parts and the stock of harvesters has not been replenished much by working machinery because the integration in the country's machine building complex has gone astray, the harvester drivers still do their jobs in the fields. But when a shortage of some, or other, or still other items is aggravated by a shortage of transportation and labor, "labor heroism" alone cannot save the situation. The mightiest transportation resources and the most numerous population are in the cities. Let us be honest, however: The cities are not providing good help to the farms. This is something we will have to repeat today more than once.

There are 40 million hectares of bread grains left to harvest. During the last week, only 7.6 million hectares were threshed in the entire country. It is scary even to think: If it continues at this pace, almost six more weeks will be needed. It will already be the middle of October; in Siberia and in the eastern and northern regions of the country white flurries will start flying, and in some parts there will be a real snowfall. It is better not to nurture illusions—some of the harvest will perish then. Another part of it is already in peril today and is in danger of being pilfered. Because out of the threshed 121.5 million tons, more than ever before—almost 100 million tons, or almost four out of every five tons—are being kept on kolkhoz and sovkhoz threshing floors and in primitive storage facilities. It is no secret that in the past farms have not had a policy of acquiring their own storage and processing base for processing bread products: All grain was taken almost immediately, straight from the harvesters to the grain elevators. This means that now these 100 million are lying open to all the winds and rains; also, they are not protected by anything like tanks and armored vehicles. When the time comes, we will be millions and millions short. And the time will come!

The "second bread," the potato, is not faring any better. It has been harvested on 60,000 hectares. This is three percent of all harvesting areas. In the Russian Federation, potatoes have been dug up on 26,000 hectares, which is also three percent. Of all the variety of fall agricultural work, potato harvesting is the most labor intensive, the most "manual." Many, many people have always been, and still are needed here. Before writing these troubling lines, I attempted to collect information on the size of the human armies that have gone from the cities to the fields. Alas, in all the mass media there was only one report of the people detached... from the true Army, that is, the USSR Armed Forces. Soldiers, officers, and transport. Apparently, this is the real situation. Students, traditionally the most numerous brigade of helpers, will go after 1 September. It will take them a week or two to get up to speed. There is smaller labor force now at state plants, factories, and construction sites, and there is no precedent yet in mobilizing cooperative members and entrepreneurs for this venture. Numerous masses of city residents are busy with rallies and politics...

Meanwhile, the picture at produce warehouses, on which the cities pin their hopes for nourishment in the winter, is the true quintessence of hunger. This is at a time when the pressure of the harvest season is still increasing: The harvesting of sugar beets and corn is upon us, and the cotton is ripe. So here it is again: People! People! People! Where are you?

If this is not enough, tragic melodies have merged into the symphony of our everyday life in the pre-autumn month of August. Blood has been shed. Meanwhile, today's efforts to overcome the consequences by political means resemble more the gathering of storm clouds. Besides... I looked through a stack of fresh directives—from presidential decrees to resolutions and directives by committees, cabinets, and soviets. I got upset because of the lack of concern about the daily bread in these documents. And the din of parliamentary debates muffles the occasional voices of agrarians that once in a while break through: While you keep fighting, brothers, we are losing the harvest.

After the session, the congress starts on 2 September... The genie has not been put back into the bottle yet. I think we do not need any comments—life itself will produce them. Regretfully, they may be quite harsh.

Still, I do not want to end on such a sad note. I will say this: Let there be peace in our home. And let there be bread, and salt, and everything else on the table there.

Scientific

Zenit Booster Launch Failure Discussed

917Q0164A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 2

[Interview with F. Chelkis and I. Pisarev, experts from the Energomash Scientific-Production Association and

Yuzhnoye Scientific-Production Association, by M. Fedorov; place and date not given: "What Happened With the Zenit?]

[Text] **A Zenit rocket—one of the boosters for which a great deal of work is planned in implementing the space programs—was to have been launched on 27 July. The launch was postponed for technical reasons. When it reported this, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA promised its readers that it would inform them about these "technical reasons." Today we publish the answers given by leading experts from the Energomash Scientific-Production Association and Yuzhnoye Scientific-Production Association, design engineer F. Chelkis and I. Pisarev, to these questions.**

[Fedorov] Can you say a few words about the rocket and its characteristics?

[Pisarev] It is a quite powerful booster that is launched completely automatically or, as we say, unmanned. The booster makes use of the latest technology and is capable of carrying out various missions in space research, not only today but in the long term. It is based on the first-stage RD-170 four-chamber engine and the Energiya rocket system. I would call it unique.

[Fedorov] How is it unique? Both here and abroad the building of boosters has become such a developed sector and has gained so much solid design experience that, well, to talk about uniqueness...

[Chelkis] Let me try to dispel your doubts with facts. The basic features of the RD-170 characterizing its power and inexpensiveness are these: sea-level thrust of 740 tons and specific impulse in vacuum, 337 units. These are the highest achievements reached in world engine building for this class of engine. These very high energy parameters are ensured by the scheme used in the RD-170. The mass carrier for the engine turbine is the products from the combustion of kerosene and oxygen at a temperature of about 700 degrees Kelvin, with a 95-percent proportion of oxygen. After passing through the turbine the working medium is directed into a combustion chamber where it is mixed with the main part of the kerosene. Up to now no company abroad has experience with engines that operate in this way.

[Fedorov] You are talking about design features, but there is also the criterion of reliability.

[Chelkis] Undoubtedly. During the course of development of the engine, in addition to the numerous tests of its subsystems and units, about 900 test firings of the entire engine were carried out. Good results were obtained. Suffice it to say that during the static tests the efficiency of the engine was confirmed during the process of 17 full flight-time burns and 25 burns.

[Pisarev] Let me add that at this time there have been 15 firings of the Zenit booster and two firings of the entire Energiya system, as the results of which the engine's high level of reliability has been confirmed.

[Fedorov] It was reported in our newspaper that on 4 October 1990 there was an accident with a Zenit booster. The first stage of the engine spontaneously switched itself off five seconds after ignition and resulted in the booster falling back onto the launch pad, with a subsequent explosion.

[Pisarev] This was totally unexpected for us. Today we can state quite definitely what the reason was. As a result of analysis of the telemetry data and the material parts that remained it has been established that there was nothing unusual about the prelaunch preparations or the initial part of the flight, and that the initial site giving rise to the development of the accident was the oxygen cooling channel assembly in one of the four chambers.

[Chelkis] Let me explain how the study was conducted. Four main groups of scenarios were selected: incorrect assembly of the engine, defects leading to a reduced safety margin, broken seals in the oxygen channel, and ingress of foreign bodies or substances into the internal chamber. It was with respect to the last named that we were able to reproduce the process whereby the accident occurred. It was established that the cause was the ingress of an oily-type organic substance into the oxygen chamber of the engine. This could have happened only as the result of some random violation of the technological process in the work after the static firing test.

[Fedorov] But what happened in July of this year?

[Pisarev] A booster rocket is a very complex technical system. It is difficult to calculate all the assemblies and parts of the structure that could affect the precise operation of the entire system. During the course of preparation for the launch and the launch, numerous parameters are monitored automatically. When an automatic device detects a malfunction it stops the launch process.

[Chelkis] The reason for the malfunction has been established. It was not a design error or the sudden detection of unknown defects but a violation of the technological process, or, more accurately, a mistake by people.

The studies that have been conducted also showed that the engine is reliable and that there is a considerable safety factor, and also that the structural elements are resistant to various defects introduced artificially in particular elements. Moreover, experience gained in developing the RD-170 will become the basis for the development of promising new engines of various sizes, while the Zenit will compete successfully in the world "space market."

Military

Defense Minister Shaposhnikov Gives Interview

LD0909215591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1849 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Studio interview with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov by various journalists on the "Without Retouching" program—live]

[Text] [Torchinskiy] Hello! The "Respublika" creative association of Russian Television greets you. The "Without Retouching" program is live on the air. My name is Sergey Torchinskiy, and as always I am working with my colleague, Nina Zvereva.

[Zvereva] Good evening.

[Torchinskiy] I have great pleasure today in welcoming here our country's minister of defense, Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov. [applause]

[Shaposhnikov] Thank you.

[Torchinskiy] During these days which have been so memorable for all of us—I cannot speak for my colleagues—but most probably they too have felt one penetrating thing; they have felt it penetratingly, that phrase which we used to repeat without even thinking, especially when we were pioneers—The people and the Army are united—has suddenly appeared to us in some kind of improbably alarming, improbably important light, if you like. I don't know, has some kind of need arisen that this should indeed be so? From one side and from the other side—perhaps we journalists understand more than others how much lies behind these problems, legal problems, political problems, economic problems. This is a huge complex of issues, and I say once again that we are journalists who are very frequently accused of blackening one thing or slandering something else; perhaps we—it has been our obligation, our professional obligation—were the first to sense a long time ago that something not quite right was going on, and we tried in some way to draw public opinion to the most complex processes which had been occurring in the Army. And perhaps we ourselves were wrong about something. I think all of us have been guided by what is the main thing in our profession—our professional conscience, our human conscience.

And the final few words which I would like to say are that perhaps the time has now come when this unity will begin with some kind of realization as to what the Army is today in our conditions, with the realization of the immense responsibility of society, society's obligation toward the Army, and responsibility from the other side, too. And I would like our conversation today to be if not the beginning of this process then at least one of the first steps along this path.

And the last thing I'd like to say to you is that the conditions of our meeting presuppose that at the very outset you [Shaposhnikov] will have five minutes for a word of introduction, for an address, as this suits you, and then you will have a dialogue—not an interview, but a dialogue—where you will also be able to ask questions, by the way, of each of the journalists. And in the time left we shall have the opportunity to have something in the nature of a quick-fire interview. Well, in order not to waste time, over to you.

[Shaposhnikov] Well, by way of introduction, I would perhaps like even to reply to a question which is the most important for all of us, since it has been heard more than once in recent days from various representatives of the media: Who stopped the putsch?

In answering that question and explaining my position on this question, I would like to say that it was the times we are living in which stopped the putsch, it was the people who stopped the putsch, and it was the Army, too, which stopped the putsch. I would like to explain certain points about my argument. The fact of the matter is, if you take the main, so to speak, plotters, these are people who generally speaking were well into their prime. In my opinion—and it's not just my opinion, it's what actually happened—they were born in the twenties, their personalities were shaped by the period of the Stalinist repressions. They were nourished by all this, as they say, like milk from their mother, those ideals and those fundamentals which, so to speak, accompanied them at that time. They were participants in the war; they also fought for these ideals, and they clearly had a sacred belief in what they had been taught during their youth. And when perestroyka began, as it were, from above, they welcomed this to some extent; they were pleased about this, because they thought it would not be so radical, not so decisive, and generally speaking they reacted with understanding to all these processes.

[Shaposhnikov] A correct question and a serious question, and it should be substantiated like this: If we intend to live in a law-governed state, we have to put everything onto a legal foundation. And at the present time both the General Staff and the minister of defense are engaged in resolving the following, among other issues; at the present time we are working out a number of legislative provisions about the Army. These are the law on defense; the law on service in the Armed Forces; and the law on the status of the serviceman. And at the same time, we are radically reworking the regulations and the military oath. If one takes the regulations, the order of the commander is the law for those subordinate to him—clearly and precisely. But at the same time I think there should be some other words there; we are now looking for them, so that the law is correct and honorable.

On the other hand, if you look at the regulations, they have become so obsolete and are so out of keeping with the spirit of the times. For example, servicemen are obliged—that is how it's written—to address each other only by their military rank or by their surname. For example: Comrade Major Ivanov, Comrade Private Smirnov. Who in fact ... all of this has been confirmed by a decree of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Who, comrades, has forbidden us to remind a person of what his own name is and that of his father? Why shouldn't we address people by their name and patronymic? Among senior officers, especially in the Navy, the practice is to address people by their name and patronymic. In other words, we are already violating the regulations. I think, therefore, that if we rework these legislative acts and put everything on a legal foundation, we will have insurance and guarantees against that kind of thing.

[Gavrilenko] Against these tragic choices?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course.

[Gavrilenko] Thank you, Yevgeniy Ivanovich.

[Zvereva] Igor Fishke, a lieutenant in the reserve, has asked to speak.

[Fishke] Igor Fishke, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, before I ask the question I prepared for you, I can't help wondering why you came to meet us here in plain clothes today.

[Shaposhnikov] I am being true to my word, since when I was being confirmed at the Supreme Soviet one of the questions I was asked was this: For the purposes of the democratization of the Army, are you willing to be a civilian? I said yes, and I don't see anything reprehensible in this. Moreover, I spoke today both with President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin, and in general have taken the position that under present conditions the minister of defense while engaged in his everyday work—meaning when I am neither on parade nor taking part in exercises, but when I am talking to journalists or simply behind my desk and when there aren't any serious conferences with military people alone—then I think there's some point in the defense minister also going about in ordinary clothes. I don't think that harms anyone.

[Fishke] It doesn't mean that you've resigned? Now for my main question. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, a number of republics today are creating their own armed formations, and naturally the political instability and the situation in the country allows us to assume that at some point those formations may be brought into action. In particular, today the Russian "Vesti" reported that there is a possibility of an armed clash between the Georgian Interior Ministry and the Georgian National Guard. The situation in Moldavia and in a number of other republics is also alarming. What position does the Ministry of Defense intend to take in such a situation, on issues concerning interethnic and intraethnic armed conflicts when bloodshed and casualties are possible? Or, to be quite precise, in what circumstances is the Army prepared to leave its barracks in order to begin to act in defense of the civilian population?

[Shaposhnikov] When you hear these words—begin to act—well, when it's in defense, it's all right.

But then, once perestroyka had got going from below, probably they started to like it less. After all, they had got used to everything coming down from above—commands from above, and perestroyka from above, and so on and so forth. Then suddenly the people, the mass media, were going further and were proposing something still more. Of course they didn't like that at all.

At the same time, there were processes going on. Processes were going on in such a way that at the beginning of perestroyka I could compare it with little, even shy, streams, which by 1991 had turned into a most powerful current that no one could stop any longer. But they decided to stand athwart that current. And naturally they were swept away.

And all you needed to do was to open the window, look into the street, and see what was going on, or in the end just put on your hat and walk around the town, go to the Arbat, go to Izmaylovskiy Park, to the stadiums and so on, and see that people now are quite different. But they lived with those stereotypes, those dogmas, and didn't notice it. And it just didn't work; their thinking that if they brought the tanks into the street and issued a few statements, everything would calm down as used to be.

I think this fresh wind of perestroyka which accompanies this rushing current is doing what it has to, and I am convinced that there will no longer be any return to the past.

So there, I've made my little speech.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you. We have another tradition, to bring together a group of papers which will start a dialogue with you first.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes? Well, I will probably choose the paper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, simply out of solidarity, because, if you'll forgive me, if I chose a different paper, perhaps people would ask questions. But I don't think they'll ask questions in this case.

[Zvereva] Wait a moment, wait a moment. Excuse me. I shall introduce my colleagues in this program. I want to say that we have here today representatives of 12 publications for a three-minute dialogue. I'd ask every one to be exact.

And why did I break off the question just now? The thing is that all of us journalists also have military titles, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, and before the program started I asked my colleagues. So, Vladimir Gavrilenko, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, a colonel—the only one of us in the Army now. He started in the mass paper for soldiers, and now represents the Army's central paper. Go ahead.

[Gavrilenko] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, with your permission I'll go back to those three days and ask this question, not a new question, but it became particularly acute during those three days. This is it: How can we make sure that from now on a military person is not faced with this tragic dilemma: If you get an order and are faithful to it, you march against the people, as happened in (?some) places here just now; and if you don't carry out this order, you will be court martialled.

[Shaposhnikov] Going against orders?

[Gavrilenko] Against orders, against your oath. So, how do you regard this question, which I think is a very serious one?

Well, I mean, what I want to say with regard to this question is that, generaly speaking, I have promised

myself, and I believe there is no court higher than one's own conscience, that the Army must never be used against unarmed people. I think that this says a lot. At the same time there clearly are situations, and maybe they will arise although I would not like them to arise, when armed formations on one side and armed formations on another side begin, so to speak, to torment, to bother the people, and if the people ask for the Army, then I believe the Army must put things in order. Probably not by force, but rather by its presence. There probably are other methods. But I think it is inadmissible for the Army simply to shoot and rout everything in its path.

[Fishke] The people through the government of the Republic?

[Shaposhnikov] No, I think the people should be speaking for themselves.

[Fishke] What can this look like, purely from a formal viewpoint? What is meant by the people asked for the Army; you just go where they have asked you to go?

[Shaposhnikov] People asked, well, we know all those tricks when, at the request of the government, one thing and another was done in the name of the people, right? Well, surely we are now democratizing our society, and now we know what the people are. We have Supreme Soviets; we have Congresses of People's Deputies. I think that they are the true expression of the will of the people.

[Zvereva] This was a three-minute dialogue between KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and the USSR defense minister. Now the TRUD paper: Reserve Captain Mikhail Pereplesnin. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS to go next. [words indistinct about military ranks]

[Pereplesnin] Mikhail Pereplesnin, TRUD. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, not all our troops have yet been withdrawn from Eastern Europe, but already voices can be heard demanding the withdrawal of Soviet Army troops from the Baltic Republics, the Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia. Moreover, a complex process is taking place, whereby the army of officers who have no official welfare system and no housing is growing. Naturally, an outflow of cadres is also possible. Do you rule out a possibility that the Army will lose its cadres and the country will lose the Army as a result?

[Shaposhnikov] My main task is to make sure that the country does not lose its Army. That is why my oft-repeated position is that there must be an agreement on the Army as a single entity in the conditions of this complicated situation in the country, in the conditions of a federation, or a confederation, or a partial association, where the whole system of our sovereign state is concerned. But the question you have asked is, of course, among the issues I have mentioned here.

What can I say here? Well, to begin with, there are now 185,000 families of officers and warrant officers in the Army who have nowhere to live. This issue is being exacerbated, and its resolution is being made more complicated by the fact that we are withdrawing our troops from the countries of Eastern Europe. The question is currently being raised in this way by some republics, too—the ones that have obtained independence, autonomy, and so on. I think, however, that tomorrow we will meet them and that we will come to an agreement and resolve all these issues in such a way that, well, the thesis, the foundation is this: If we have been able to reach agreement with the United States on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, on mutual reduction of conventional arms—talks are now starting in Vienna—if we have been able to reach agreement with the FRG on withdrawing our troops from that country, and we have withdrawn them from Mongolia and other republics, then it seems to me it is all the more the case that we shall reach agreement with these republics, with which we are linked by long-standing bonds of friendship. We understand their problems, and they, too, ought to understand the Army's problems.

[Pereplesnin] And what about the timeframe? After all, you mentioned the figure of 185,000 who are not provided for. So, how long do the families and officers have to wait to have these housing issues resolved?

[Shaposhnikov] You mean from among this number of 185,000, right? We are now revising our budget. The budget has a certain structure, and one of the articles in our budget deals with allocating resources for capital construction. Moreover, there are also subdivisions in this capital construction itself. One part, a half, that is to say, goes for the training infrastructure, testing grounds, training centers, airfields, command centers; and the second part is to do with housing construction. I think that at present—although here, too, there are many complications with regard to this range or set of items I mentioned—but, nevertheless, we should put the individual in the forefront. I mean, earlier this correlation of ours was not to the benefit of housing, but now things must be done in such a way that the biggest part of this budget should go toward the construction of housing, and a smaller part should go toward construction of what I mentioned at the start. And I think that we ... I do not want to talk about timeframes, two years, three years, because it is one thing to say this and quite another to fulfill it later on. But I want to do everything in my power so that these timeframes are minimal.

[Pereplesnin] That is to say, people do have something to hope for.

[Shaposhnikov] I think so, yes.

[Torchinskiy] In the town of Chkalovskiy, the cream of the nation lives—the test pilots. They live in horrifying conditions. You know that?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course I do.

[Torchinskiy] What chance is there for things to change somewhat for them?

[Shaposhnikov] I mean I want to tell you that we are dealing with this and are not, as it were, waiting for something to turn up. In particular, military transport aviation is engaging in commercial activities. It is a completely natural phenomenon. We are helping the national economy; we are transporting national economic cargo, and we earn from this something in the range of several tens of millions a year.

[Torchinskiy] And the state is taking all this, down to the last kopeck?

[Shaposhnikov] No need for that, incorrect. I mean, up until this year, this is the way things were in our country: 70 percent for the state and 30 percent for the Defense Ministry budget. I mean, this year this money that the Defense Ministry has earned, the Defense Ministry's share went completely toward the construction of housing, including two buildings in Chkalovskiy. That is why I think that if we continue to work in this vein—and I want to ask our government whether things could not be at least reversed: 70 percent for us and 30 percent for the state—well, we shall then resolve this faster.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you.

[Zvereva] It was an unplanned but important question from Russian TV. And now back to what is scheduled. So, Vadim Poegly, who served two years in the Moscow Air Defense Forces okrug—not during the times of Rust, I hope. He is now a lieutenant in the reserve. Please go ahead.

[Poegly] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, both you and the chief of General Staff have repeatedly talked at news conferences and in interviews about a new concept of the so-called mixed Army recruitment; that is to say, when the duration of compulsory military service is being cut either to 18 or 12 months—not that there is clarity here, either—and subsequently contracts for three or five years are entered into voluntarily. I think our audience is very interested in what stage the elaboration of this concept is currently, and when one realistically expect a transition to a semi-professional army.

[Shaposhnikov] Well, before replying to that question, I would like to turn to the viewers, and to all of you, esteemed friends, and say that in general the timeframes I am going to cite are my own personal opinion, and you will understand that not everything depends on me. And so, I would like this principle of mixed manning of the Soviet Army to be implemented as early as 1992. So, I would thereby like to explain certain standpoints, as, in spite of my very deep respect for the mass media, they sometimes misrepresent or misunderstand what I have said. For example, regarding my last remark, I don't remember which newspaper wrote that the defense minister had said that service in the Army would be one year.

[Unidentified voice] VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, was it?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, there you are. I'm just explaining. This is the point. We think, of course, that the period of service in the Army should be reduced from 24 months to about 18 months. Of these 18 months, a young man serves for six to eight months in a training subunit, depending on the complexity of the military speciality. He learns a soldier's trade and receives a military speciality, after which he is offered service under contract for three or five years—we're just carrying out a sociological poll among soldiers on compulsory service—for a certain payment at a level of perhaps R300, R400, perhaps R500. This isn't the only....

[Indistinct interjection]

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, inflation will show. Comrade Yavlinskiy will prompt us on this! [laughter] And then he will serve either three or five years, depending on what we decide. Then, it isn't ruled out that—it clearly isn't ruled out—the contract is extended for, say, another five years. In this case, of course, his wages will be raised. I think many young lads will agree to such terms.

[Unidentified questioner] Excuse me, the people who are going to serve under contract, will they be serving as soldiers on compulsory service, that is, with the status of warrant officers? Will they have their own house, the possibility of living with their wives?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, this is also an interesting question. I think we have a certain premature development under way here, and the mens sometimes get married earlier than some people would like. It seems to me that the average age of a married man is around 25; so the first period of concluding a contract, I think, a soldier can spend in a soldiers' hostel or barracks—of course, in rather improved conditions compared with today's barracks. And when a man gets married, then of course he'll get an apartment and will live like a normal man with rights in a law-governed state.

[Unidentified questioner] Thank you.

[Zvereva] The female section is entering the conversation; I cannot say the female half, because I have counted and only a quarter of those at this meeting are women. Now for Lyudmila Terin, a MOSCOW NEWS observer, who, I might mention, is also a nurse in the reserve and comes from a family of servicemen.

[Shaposhnikov] We ask for her not to be called up.

[Terin] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, all of us remember how General Makashev and General Gromov were contending for leading posts in the Russian leadership. Colonel—now General—Rutskoy not only contended for but has become vice president and has also created a new political party. A new high posting has been received by Stolyarov, who is now a major general. How do you evaluate such high demand for military people in politics? Do you not think that there is a certain danger in all this?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, I think you know Rutskoy. I know Stolyarov very well. He is an absolutely peace-loving person in terms of his aspirations. In particular, I can say that Stolyarov has and Rutskoy also has a military past, and he is a general who has done some fighting; but he displays these combat qualities of his in extreme conditions, in an extreme situation, as happened during the flight to Belbek and with his actions in the area of Foros. As for Stolyarov, he is a person with an absolutely humanitarian outlook. He is very logical, and suffice it to say very intelligent. Therefore, it is senseless to tie in the demand for military people with some kind of dangers. I merely want to say that there are also very many decent, clever people who are capable of holding high posts, and not just to hold them but also, of course, to work decently and conscientiously and responsibly.

[Terin] I was not casting doubt on the decency of military people. I was interested in something else. Do you not see a danger in involving military people in politics?

[Shaposhnikov] I do not think that military people and politics are antipodes, because during those years of stagnation, we were so crammed full of politics that sometimes it seems to be coming out of our ears. [laughs] So I do not see anything reprehensible in this.

[Terin] Today you are not in uniform, and I think—at least as far as I can remember—you are the first minister of defense who has been present in an official capacity not in uniform. Do you think we will live to see times when the USSR defense minister will actually be a civilian?

[Zvereva] Or a woman?

[Shaposhnikov] I think that one cannot set the question in the form: Will we live to see it? We probably will live to see it. Maybe not we ... [laughter] but we will see it. I think there are many specialists among the civilian population who are well informed in our affairs. It is just that, at the current stage, while the military reform is under way and other issues are being resolved, I think one needs to be at least semi-military....

[Terin, interrupting] Why do you think it is inexpedient?

[Shaposhnikov] I do not think it is inexpedient. But a military person with a specific outlook must see to the reform.

I want to share with you the following: You all know Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryzhov. Yesterday he came to see me with his group of comrades who have been involved with the issue of military reform for a long time now. Well, evidently they had certain limitations, and the reform was not proceeding. And they all came to see me and we had an hour-long conversation. Well, they began immediately with questions. I said: Comrades, let us do things like this. I will first outline all that I think about military reform and all I am thinking of doing, and then you can ask me questions. And when I outlined the entire military reform as I saw it, one of the comrades—actually it was Yuriy Alekseyevich—said: We thought you must have been working in our military reform committee. So there you are.

[Zvereva] Thank you. Right, Sergey Parkhomenko. I did promise you the floor. PRAVDA is next. First I'd like to say that Sergey Parkhomenko is a journalist for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. He is also a senior lieutenant, a propaganda officer. And not so long ago that was a military secret, Sergey tells me. The job consists of working with the enemy's troops and population. I don't know about the enemy population, but NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA is doing well with the population of Moscow.

[Shaposhnikov] And when did you find out that's what he does?

[Zvereva] Just now.

[Shaposhnikov] And now it's clear.

[Unidentified journalist] [Words indistinct] only Zemenkov's from the military.

[Parkhomenko] Well, no, there are certain differences.

[Shaposhnikov] It doesn't matter.

[Parkhomenko] I'd say: "Hans, surrender"—that sort of thing.

[Shaposhnikov] That sort of thing.

[Unidentified journalist] Now it's clear.

[Parkhomenko] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, I'd like to take you back to more serious matters, as it were. You began with the coup yourself, and indeed it's hard to forget it today. It was Pavel Zemenkov, our military observer, who suggested this question to me, although he might have been a far more appropriate person to have here. The point is that on 28 August TASS reported as follows, quoting U.S. Administration officials:

General Maksimov, commander of the Soviet Strategic Rocket Forces, in a blatant challenge to those who last week—and at that time it was still last week—attempted to overthrow President Gorbachev, withdrew mobile SS-25 missiles with nuclear warheads from their operational sites and redeployed them at the barracks. This step, which was discovered by U.S. intelligence, meant a reduction in the operational readiness of long-distance missiles and considerably cheered the Bush administration throughout the three-day struggle for power in the Kremlin.

My question: To what extent, do you think, was this measure really necessary, and how great during those three days—or perhaps for some time before or some time afterward—how great was the real danger of uncontrolled use of our nuclear potential? And how adequate and serious do you think guarantees against this are now, today, on 9 September? Thank you.

[Shaposhnikov] People throughout the world have found this issue a disturbing one, as it were, ever since the 19th [of August]. Well, of course measures were taken, I mean by the high commands which, so to speak, hold these lethal weapons. Other measures were taken, too. All the same, unsanctioned use of them was not possible in those circumstances. Moreover, and on the other hand, I was in constant touch, once every 24 hours, in fact, both with Yazov and with Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff, and generally speaking I did not notice—as far as these contacts of ours and the situation were concerned—any signs at all that someone wanted to use this type of thing without sanction. I was constantly receiving information from the Armed Forces that the situation was like that. That is the first thing, that is, as far as the first aspect is concerned: I mean there were generally no grounds to think that the nuclear button is in unreliable hands of one person or another and that something like that would happen and so on and so forth.

In addition, the measures you are talking about, I won't comment on them; that is on the conscience of those who are doing it.

As far as the present time is concerned, I wish to assure both the entire Soviet people and the entire world community that this thing is guaranteed in such a way at present—in my view we have even overinsured ourselves somewhat—but, nonetheless, I mean, I wish to assure everyone that this is ruled out.

[Parkhomenko] Nevertheless, the president's communication was out of action? Including, as he, the president asserts, that famous nuclear football [chemodanchik] of his?

[Shaposhnikov] The investigation will reveal everything, because I don't want to run on ahead or say something more than I should now. But at least, what I said in the first part of my answer, I think is quite convincing enough to reassure you, now at least.

[Parkhomenko] So the investigation is looking at this problem seriously?

[Shaposhnikov] Of course.

[Torchinskiy] Then my question is the one that Sergey Grigoriyevich tried to ask just now: Is the Ministry of Defense conducting any sort of independent investigation by means of its own channels into these circumstances, which are directly connected with its own sphere of activity?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, of course. The Ministry of Defense is doing that; I am engaged on this, the chief of General Staff is engaged on it, constantly. We even inform the president. He is taking a constant interest in these problems. He understands the situation very thoroughly, in all these areas, and so far we haven't made any discovery of any very serious deviations which could have led us to using nuclear arms without his sanction.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you. Any more?

[Zvereva] Lyubov Pyatiletova, reserve nurse. She obtained her speciality at the Sverdlovsk University. Next will be SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

[Pyatiletova] Lyubov Pyatiletova, PRAVDA. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you said something I think is very important: There is no judge higher that your conscience for you in this post. As we recall, during the days of the putsch many of the troops rose to the occasion, thanks precisely to the fact that they listened to the voice of their conscience. But let us put this situation aside for a moment, and let's imagine that every soldier and officer upon getting an order doesn't obey it as he is obliged to by his oath, but measures it against his own idea of conscience, honor, duty, and so on. How do you regard this; and what should the relationship between orders and conscience be; and how much influence can this have on the Army's ability to act?

[Shaposhnikov] I think orders should be based on conscience, on duty, on honor. And then I think we shall leave behind that gap of, on the one hand, having an immoral order, an incorrect one, and according to your conscience you shouldn't act in accordance with that order.

[Pyatiletova] But people have different ideas.

[Shaposhnikov] About conscience?

[Pyatiletova] Yes.

[Shaposhnikov] Of course. So our task is to create lofty, moral attitudes in the Army, to make the Army morally pure, morally lofty. Then I think we will get rid of this.

[Pyatiletova] I see.

[Shaposhnikov] In terms of documentation, we will register it in the documents that I mentioned.

[Unidentified questioner] I can see that. It is just that in these laws you can not make a provision for every situation. It is clearly such moral and ethical values that will be of key importance in drawing them up.

[Shaposhnikov] I would like to tell you about a concept we have in the Army: A commander receives his task, assesses the situation, works out a decision, makes it, and announces it. I think that we are formally carrying out these things that I have mentioned. When he has received his task, assessed the situation, and set about working out a decision, a commander is obliged to involve all of his assistants in making the decision. At this stage, all these assistants and deputies should propose alternative decisions to the commander, as it used to be in the old Russian Army—Suvorov, Kutuzov, you remember? The commander, absorbing all these proposals, chooses the most acceptable option. If it is necessary, he explains it with calculations and substantiates it with various facts. The commander, having mede a decision, then takes responsibility for it. He announces it to his immediate assistants. I think that such collective reason and collective conscience, which is

in this case higher than individual conscience, will make it possible to avoid such excesses.

[Unidentified questioner] Here is another question: You are 49 years old, and you are a marshal of aviation. This shows that your service career has been developing very favorably. What evolution have your political views undergone over this period?

[Shaposhnikov] Very serious ones! My party and political views have evolved. I do not know if you are going to ask why I left the party, but I will tell you. Then you will understand why there has been a definite evolution. First, our society has changed. Under conditions of a multiparty system, the Army can be a bone of contention between different parties. In my view, the Army should have a single judgment and a single order—the order of the homeland, the interests of the fatherland, and the Constitution—and that is all. There should not be any parties here from the left, from the right, from the back, nor from the front, as they say. So, as soon as Article 6 was abolished from our Constitution, I immediately began working on how we could get out of this difficult situation in which the Army finds itself. I made a final choice about six months ago. During the putsch, on the second day, I stated that, however the putsch ends, I would leave the party. On 23 August I gathered the military council and announced this. Half an hour later I gathered the officers. I was a bit apprehensive about the reaction. I wondered whether they would understand. When I announced this, I heard nothing but positive feelings.

[Torchinskiy] Rutskoy described how he was expelled from the party.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, I regret that that happened within the walls of the building of the main headquarters of the Air Force.

[Torchinskiy] Where, as Rutskoy put it, with their heads bowed, his comrades in arms voted to exclude him.

[Shaposhnikov] I was not even at the headquarters on that day.

[Zvereva] But that was before the putsch. That was a different era. Thank you. The next question is from (Aleksandr Gramov) of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. But first I want to surprise you by telling you what his trade is. He is a military musician. He refused to disclose what instrument he plays. He says he used to conduct.

[Gramov] It is the drum. [laughter]

[Zvereva] Please go ahead.

[Gramov] Thank you. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, as we know, a number of republics are making decisions that their recruits, on call-up, should do their service only within the borders of their own territorial formations. In that event, the result is that some republics will not create armies, but effectively it means that the republic, for instance the Ukraine, will have a purely Ukrainian army and Georgia a purely Georgian army. In your view, what could be the pluses and the minuses here? What could the consequences be? Thank you.

[Shaposhnikov] If we are talking as is written in the basic documents that have been adopted by the congress about the army being united—and we have to strive toward this and understand that this is precisely how things should be—tomorrow we begin these consultations—I think we must nevertheless reach agreement about this. It is possible to find a solution here, so that young men may serve not only in the interests of their republic but in the interests of the state as a whole. In what way can this be done? I set out for you my view of the mixed principle of putting together the Soviet Army. This idea can be extended. If a man serves the first part of his service in a training detachment, it means that he is in the territory of the republic. We have sufficient training detachments in the territories of the republics. But when he concludes a contract, then it can be written that he will serve where the motherland orders. In that way we will remove the rough edges, so to speak, that might arise.

[Gramov] Fine. Another question. The colleague from TRUD has already mentioned that servicemen and their families who have been brought back from Eastern Europe in particular, but in addition from Mongolia, have not been given social protection. The enormous army of yesterday's political workers is now finding itself in the same kind of situation because of restructuring in the army. As minister, how do you intend to solve their problems?

[Shaposhnikov] In the first place, I want to say to you that among the party workers, among the political workers, to a greater extent there are decent and sensible people capable of doing work of high quality under the new conditions. For this reason we have no intention of dispersing them all, of throwing them overboard, so to speak. No. We will leave the basic part. They have colossal experience in educational work. The only thing is that they need to be directed toward working in a different way—to educational work, to psychological hardening under conditions of combat training. We have that kind of experience, too. We must raise their responsibility. In that case, the political workers, the main backbone of them, will remain in the Army. The only thing is that they will possibly be in other structures and they will not have functions of authority.

This question is a very important one, as it concerns the fate of people. We have had many of letters and I have received personal calls from people. I spoke on television yesterday in the "Serving the Fatherland" program, and I explained this. Once again i confirm and explain this. He whose conscience is clear and who is capable of bringing benefits under the new conditions need not worry. I will say, moreover, that if a person has to be dismissed, he must not be thrown out without an apartment to live in. A man is a man; he has a family to care

for and a job to sort out to a certain extent; therefore, we will approach a solution to all these questions in a humane manner.

[Gramov] I have another question. You said that it was our times, perestroyka, and the Army that averted the putsch, but who did the most to avert the putsch, the generals or the men?

[Shaposhnikov] It is not necessary to separate them. I ask you, please—and this is a request to all our comrades and to all the media who are here: It is not necessary to make a division here. We have good and bad soldiers, good and bad officers, and good and bad generals. They are all there, just as in society as a whole. Why should we divide them all up by their positions or their rank? That is not the thing to do. I believe that it was the people, the time, and the Army that halted the putsch.

[Gramov] I agree. Thank you.

[Zvereva] Thank you. That was a dialogue between SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the USSR defense minister. Now over to Yelena Tokareva from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Yelena is the only one among us who does not have a military service card, but she says that she has direct links with the Army because she has a 10-year old son. I would also like to say that Yelena Tokareva is the author of several publications by the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers.

[Tokareva] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, we have been hearing that you are preparing for military reform. We know that, before you, Marshal Yazov prepared his own version, and also Deputy Lopatin, but what form it will take we do not know. I would like to ask you if your reform will include a state of affairs whereby the Army will not be so alienated from civilian society. In my view, its alienation finds expression in the fact that crimes and infringements of the law in the Army are handled not by a civilian procurator but by a military procurator.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, this is a good question. I have thought this through [chuckles], but not just because I have prepared for this meeting and that I thought about the possibility of such a question, no. It is just that my heart, too, bleeds for the things you speak about. You are correct in what you say that when the procurator is in uniform and wearing rank, and the defendant is a military person, and the commander under whom all this lawlessness is going on is also a military man, then you have something akin to a clan, which may act outside the law, so to speak. There are preconditions for this. We can say this.

What do I think, what do I have in mind? I think that there should be educational bodies for those actually serving in the Army. In the Ministry of Defense as whole there should be a committee for legal and social protection. We are calling it something like that for the moment. It will be made up of civilians. It will work in close cooperation with the bodies of justice—lawyers and specialists, and the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers will also be in the structure of that committee. My task, through that committee, is to observe and monitor and find out how the educational process is proceeding in the Army.

On the one hand, the Army will not make reports on certain things, while on the other hand, the committee will monitor these educational processes. Then, with the help of this committee, I will be able to monitor all the educational processes. I think then we....

[Tokareva, interrupting] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, I see the next step in your career will be the diplomatic service. You have not answered my question: Will be the procurator be a military man in the Army or a civilian?

[Torchinskiy] Absolutely a lack of military discipline.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes. [laughing] So what do I want to say to you about that question? I personally intend for the procuracy to be civilian.

[Tokareva] Thank you.

[Zvereva] I think we have only two publications left, IZVESTIYA and MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS—oh, yes, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA—right. Three publications. I do not know if there will be time [words indistinct]. Let us have Aleksandr Sabov from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

[Sabov] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you swore that the Army will never be moved against the people at your order. You swore it for the first time on 5 September and today, six days later, you have confirmed it to all the viewers, all those who are watching us. This oath, first of all, is it an oath that consists of just the two words I swear, or is it a written oath?

[Shaposhnikov] It is not written down anywhere officially. I think it is enough...

[Sabov, interrupting] There is no precedent?

[Shaposhnikov] It is enough that I have said it before a wide public, to the viewers and to you.

[Sabov] In this connection, I have heard your answer to two of my colleagues, from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and from PRAVDA. They raised the question of the relationship between orders and conscience. Your answer did not convince me, because conscience is an unstable material. There is too much...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] Can I interrupt you and ask, since I am very interested: How would you act in my place? Please, tell us.

[Sabov] I want to speak. There are special laws in the armies of many countries, in the military codes, there are special clauses, which give, particularly to officers, the right to choose. Even in the fascist army there was such a clause, No. 49 in the military Criminal Code. Many officers in the fascist army refused to carry out—even in

the SS troops—orders of their superiors, saying that this went against their convictions.

[Samov] The military reform you are talking about, does it provide for an analogous law to be worked out? It exists in the U.S. Army, the French Army, and others.

[Shaposhnikov] Well, I will answer. There is such provision. I had a conversation, I particularly liked a conversation with the ambassador of Great Britain in the Soviet Union, and we discussed these problems. We discussed the problems, say, concerning the stationing of U.S. troops on the territory of Great Britain—an independent state, it would seem—on what basis? Nevertheless, there is a treaty. This is also of interest to us. It will make provision for events that could develop in the Baltic Republics, and the Army's stationing there. That is the first position.

The second position is that there are law and order protection bodies within the Army. They have a military militia. Incidentally, they also have procuracy bodies and military ones. I would ask for this whole matter to be handed over to us, since it is not a secret. At the same time, I generally asked him many questions. I think that these documents I mentioned to begin with—the law on defense, the code of a serviceman, the law on military service, the regulations, the oath—the provisions we have been discussing will, I think, be reflected therein. Of course, how can I now convince you?

[Samov] This is because if an officer [word indistinct] does something and knows that there is a law behind him, and he can defend his actions before a civilian procuracy...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] Of course, I know, there is a big shortage. I mean in our country there is a shortage of legal education among servicemen. We know the regulations well and we know the oath well, but as for our laws and codes, we know them poorly. This gap must be removed and we must busy ourselves with the campaign against illiteracy, so that officers really know to what extent they are defended by the law against... [changes thought] well, if such orders are forthcoming. Remember we had the old regulations—when I joined the Army, there was this strange thing written there that said if a subordinate thinks that the order is illegal, he is duty-bound to carry it out to start with, and subsequently to report to a more senior ranking man what it was all about.

[Samov] The introduction of such a norm into our...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] Undoubtedly, yes.

[Samov] The second question is: On 1 September you issued order No. 418—don't I have time?

[Shaposhnikov] No. Of course.

[Zvereva] I do beg your pardon. Please, I beg your pardon. We have Anatoliy Kostyakov from MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS, a senior lieutenant in the reserves and a graduate in journalism from Moscow State University.

[Kostyakov] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, your predecessor actively campaigned for the Ministry of Defense to have the right to conduct independent foreign economic activity. If this is absolutely true, please tell us what this would mean in practice for the ministry and the state. What is your personal attitude toward this initiative, and do you intend to continue these efforts?

[Shaposhnikov] If all that is on a legal footing, then I believe there is nothing reprehensible about it.

Take, for instance, some of our installations in the Federal Republic of Germany. Take the airfields, for one thing—you cannot take them with you, but the money is ours. Take the various equipment, and so forth, which we will not need here. Here we have the same thing; we have the very same thing. So I think that we ought to get involved in foreign economic activity, and in national economic activity here on the territory of our own country. I must immediately admit and confess that our economic knowledge, just like our legal knowledge, is not up to the mark. So we now are forming certain training groups under the faculties of our academies, where we are eliminating these holes in our knowledge, and we will engage in economic activity, which will be to the advantage of the Armed Forces—and in particular I think we must transfer all we get to the social needs of the servicemen. But this must be on a legal basis.

[Unidentified questioner] Do you envisage arms trade on the world market?

[Shaposhnikov] I want to tell you that the Ministry of Defense has never traded in arms, and probably will not trade arms. There are other structures for that. [answers indistinct follow-up question] It is not involved in that, either. We have a Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and we will allow them alone to be involved (?in this).

[Kostyakov] Could you be so kind as to say what is to happen to the special departments and what has happened to them? And how do you imagine the system for state monitoring of the Army's behavior?

[Shaposhnikov] The question is such that I cannot answer right off, with my own point of view, but I think it will be decided in our favor, as they say. The special departments should be—they are bodies of counterintelligence, military counterintelligence—they should be within the structure of the Armed Forces, and subordinate to the Ministry of Defense. That's the first thing. Second, concerning the system for monitoring the Armed Forces. Under the structure that we are currently proposing, that is, the arrangement of the Ministry of Defense, which will include a mass of various committees—that is, on the one hand, quite enough to see that there are no serious deviations to the right or left, so to

speak, within the Armed Forces, and on the other hand I think that we will find mechanisms through the State Council and through other structures—we have some suggestions ready.

[Kostyakov] Thank you very much. But then, could you be so kind as to explain—you have been answering this question concerning the situation with the political organs. It is not the first time that you have—(?I refer to) what you have said—you reassure these people that in principle, you will manage to find a place for them in the Army. Then a question arises: At the expense of which specialists do you intend to reduce the numbers of the Armed Forces? Surely there are no specialists needed less in our Army than political workers?

[Shaposhnikov] All specialists are needed, but let's look at the gulf that we have. In our Army there is a process of training, and a process of education. Training is dealt with by the commanders, by way of combat training. Combat training is shooting, driving, flying, swimming, and so on. But the process of education—who dealt with that in our Army? The commanders and the political organs, as a rule, right? There you are. Well, in the Defense Ministry, attached to the defense minister, there was a main military political administration, but there was no main administration for combat training. We are now creating such an administration, a main administration for combat training, which will include the structures for an educational profile. That is, there will be some kind of administration for educational work and for the moral and pshychological toughening of personnel, and these structures will permeate everything from the Defense Ministry right down to the subunit. And the other part of these political organs, political officers, who are seasoned, tried, and tested—and needed by the Soviet Army or the Defense Ministry—goes into a committee which will be attached to the defense minister, entirely civilian, which will also help me deal with these matters.

[Unidentified questioner] Thank you very much for the reply, but I feel sorry for the special sections.

[Shaposhnikov] You're sorry?

[Questioner] You still have to have surveillance.

[Shaposhnikov] Eyes and ears, you mean?

[Zvereva] Nikolay Andreyev from IZVESTIYA, who is also a senior lieutenant in the reserves.

[Andreyev] Nikolay Andreyev, IZVESTIYA. Here's a question to warm up: You said that the regulations prescribe the addresses: Comrade Ivanov or Comrade Marshal—but will there be a time when you will go into an officers' meeting, where the military meet, and address them: Gentlemen Officers?

[Shaposhnikov] You'd like that, would you?

[Andreyev] Yes.

[Shaposhnikov] You know, I wouldn't rule out such a possibility in general terms, but probably not in the foreseeable future—that is, not today or tomorrow.

[Andreyev] And now a serious question: Tell me, please—who is our potential adversary at present?

[Shaposhnikov, laughing] Do you really want to know? And what do you think? Do we have one?

[Andreyev] I think we do.

[Shaposhnikov] We do? Who?

[Andreyev] I think he's in the south.

[Shaposhnikov] In the south? Let's not guess. I would very much like there to be no adversaries, potential or otherwise. This is my standpoint: not to quarrel with distant neighbors, and to make friends with those who are close—then everything will be OK.

[Andreyev] But nevertheless, you have to maintain combat readiness, and this combat readiness has to be directed at someone.

[Shaposhnikov] It should be directed in such a way that we are not worse than our partners.

[Andreyev] And what is your attitude to such figures: over the last two years the United States has cut its military budget substantially, they have cut their Army divisions by a third, and they've cut their air forces by a third. That is, it's clear that they're no longer thinking that we're going to fight them. What conclusions will you draw from this?

[Shaposhnikov] And what are you are thinking about, what kind of military budget do they have in the United States?

[Andreyev] Well, it's open.

[Shaposhnikov] But how much?

[Andreyev] I don't have the exact figures...

[Shaposhnikov] Well, approximately. Perhaps someone can prompt him, comrades?

[Andreyev] Well, it's something like 600 billion...

[Shaposhnikov] No, it's not 600, of course.

[Andreyev] Or 300, 327.

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, approximately. And do you know what our budget is?

[Andreyev) No, I don't know.

[Shaposhnikov] Ninety-six—well, 100 in round terms.

[Unidentified voice] But Pavlov said we had the same as the United States!

[Shaposhnikov, laughing] And now please compare: it's a different matter, they have a different structure to their budget. For example, they have an equal ratio, approximately, one to one, for the maintenance of the Army and for the purchase of equipment. But with us it's less on the maintenance, and more on the purchases.

[Andreyev] Of the order of one to five, isn't it?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, and here we have to switch something across from the second category to the first.

[Andreyev] Thank you.

[Zvereva] It's now my turn to have three minutes.

[Unidentified voice] You've already used your time.

[Zvereva] No. That was an unplanned question.

[Shaposhnikov] You also have your special bodies, do you?

[Torchinskiy] No, it's best when they keep quite quiet.

[Zvereva] And so three minutes. Nina Zvereva, Russian Television. Please tell us—and it's not fortuitous that the following question has occurred to me, in view of the way in which we've introduced our participants, which has caused a few smiles—it's about the way that civilian individuals have military trades: as a rule this means some short-lived and poor-quality training, or it means simply a military identity card, which lies in a drawer forgotten by everyone. What is your attitude to this? Do we have to have military identity cards? Does this have to be on a compulsory basis?

[Shaposhnikov] I don't like the word compulsory at all. Compulsory—indeed, everything should be on a legal, human basis. And of course the content, it shouldn't be formal, along the lines of a call-up, doing something—it would be better not to call up anyone, and do nothing rather than this. Our main gain, the main gain of our system during these years has been formalism. We have to get rid of it by every possible means. And then when we reach a state of common sense, first and foremost, we will then no doubt have a digestible solution of the question you have raised.

[Zvereva] But for the time being the military service of civilians is being retained, is it?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, of course it is for the present. But this is a question of mobilization readiness, the selfsame readiness we have been talking about here; it is an integral part of combat readiness.

[Zvereva) Thank you, Yevgeniy Ivanovich. My second question is this: I have had occasion to visit Arzamas-16. I was making a film there about Sakharov in that city. And in Nizhniy Novgorod, where I live, there are very many excellent scientific institutes, they are the cream, and now they are terrified, they are even terrified because—I don't know whether I'm letting out a secret or whether it isn't a secret—but the name of Baklanov, for example, is very famous where we are; some promising programs are linked with him in our city. You say that we mustn't be worse than our partners. But science has often developed under the principle that it gets the resources that are left over after the military industry has had what it needs. What place does defense science have in your concept?

[Shaposhnikov] We have another item in our budget for scientific research development, the so-called scientific research and experimental design work. Where our partners are concerned that item has great weight. I think that for us it must at least be no smaller than it is now. I would like it to be higher. Second: When I say that officers and generals who have served out their established periods of service will all be discharged in the very near future, I would not want to speak these words with regard to our military scientists, our candidates of sciences, our doctors and our professors—we even have several military men who are academicians. We might be putting it in somewhat crude terms, perhaps—but it's precise—but the Army mustn't lose any of its brains, neither those who are within the military structures nor those who are outside it, but who work for it.

[Zvereva] The last question—a very brief one. How do you relax for a moment—with books, fishing? I'd like to know all about you as a person, just a bit more closely.

[Shaposhnikov] You know, first with books, then with my family. When I'm really working hard, I can call home, and talk with my children and my wife. And, of course, it is at home that I can relax most of all.

[Zvereva] Thank you.

[Torchinskiy] Right. I'll take a different tack. Nikolay Andreyev, from IZVESTIYA, you've been the most laconic. I'm giving time now to those who have the most left.

[Zvereva] I must remind you that we have five minutes left on the air.

[Andreyev] Your predecessor tried to dictate to General Volkogonov about what the history of the Great Patriotic War should be like. Do you intend to continue the tradition?

[Shaposhnikov] No, one of my very first acts, when Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov returned from Britain, was to ask him to come and consult with me. You know, in my opinion, the minister of defense should not be head of the editorial group writing the history of the war. I have agreed to be a member of this editorial commission, but chairman of the commission is something else—that's not right. I agree that I should be there, tracing how the Army acted in one operation or another, as an expert, but no more than that. He agreed with me, and asked me to write a letter to our top leadership, naming a number of academicians, historians, who could take charge of this process, and we agreed entirely on that.

[Andreyev] So finally there will be a history.

[Torchinskiy] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent] I'm taking part in one of these programs on Russian television for the first time, and I'm sitting next to Sergey Parkhomenko from NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. Here's what will probably seem a semi-fantastic question: Can we make it like this [lifts board showing him to be from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA over his neighbor's, to read KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA]—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—the independent military newspaper?

[Shaposhnikov] You know, I'm happy to see anything in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, but if you want a merger with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, to make a kind of cocktail, we'd be on the spot. [laughs]

[Torchinskiy] Fine. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA to get ready.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent] One minute—another fantastic question. Could you tell me, please, Yevgeniy Ivanovich: Would a division of military property around the republics be possible? A navy, for example, for Ukraine, aviation for somewhere else?

[Shaposhnikov] I am convinced that this should not happen. That really is fantastic.

[Zvereva] Haven't there been requests?

[Shaposhnikov] There have been no requests.

[Torchinskiy] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS next.

[Snechko] Igor Snechko. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, where are the armed formations in the republics getting their weapons? Specifically: Who, how, and from which arsenals was the thousands-strong National Guard of Georgia armed?

[Shaposhnikov) I can see many ways here. First, you'll recall that when the border was opened up between Azerbaijan and Iran, a great deal of weapons came from there. Second, there is a great deal of theft, including in the Army. We are combating this very seriously, but as yet, unfortunately, we are not always very successful in putting a halt to one act or another of these criminals. Also, I think many weapons come from the industrial works, in some way or another.

So you see, if you are hinting at the Army, that it is arming them [words indistinct as Shaposhnikov and correspondent speak at same time]. You know, there are not so many weapons there. No, there aren't tens of thousands of guns there, so as I was saying, about the sources, well, there are probably some others coming in by illegal routes. It is a kind of contraband, sending them over the border, and so on and so forth. There is a lot of homemade weaponry. I have been to the Caucasus, I have seen the mortars made there at some little factories, and so on—all this comes together, and it is the basic supplier for these armed formations.

[Torchinskiy] Good. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, if we have time.

[Unidentified MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS correspondent] MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, there are more generals in Moscow alone than in the whole of the U.S. Armed Forces. Is it planned to cut the Ministry of Defense's general and admiral staffing? How many generals are there in the Soviet Army?

[Shaposhnikov] How many generals do you think there are in the Soviet Army?

[Correspondent] I don't know.

[Shaposhnikov] You don't know? But you know that there are a lot, don't you?

[Correspondent] I just have these...

[Shaposhnikov, interrupting] I will also say plainly that there are more than necessary. Let's say that plainly. And so, one of the tasks is to bring the numbers of those with the rank of general into line with our Army as a whole, in numbers and in quality.

[Torchinskiy] MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, please, the last question.

[Unidentified MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI correspondent] Yevgeniy Ivanovich, when was the last time you went to the theater?

[Shaposhnikov) I can tell you that the last time I went to the theater was in February this year. I saw Boris Godunov, with the title role played by Gubenko—our minister of culture? [laughter]

[Correspondent] Was it a deliberate choice?

[Shaposhnikov] How do you mean?

[Correspondent] Was it a deliberate choice of show?

[Shaposhnikov] I particularly wanted to see it. I am very fond of the Taganka Theater; it has come through history—evidently it all started with Vysotskiy—and so I very often went to the theaters when I was studying at the General Staff Academy. There wasn't a week when I didn't go to the theater. Now I go less often, but I think that once we complete the military reform, we will be going to the theater.

[Torschinskiy] So that's all. Dear friends, we thought at the very beginning that time was so precious, and that it all ends so quickly. Yevgeniy Ivanovich, I am grateful to you for agreeing, despite the fact that you are incredibly busy right now, agreeing to take part in our program. We hope this won't be our last meeting, that it is just the

beginning. Thank you once again, and thank you colleagues for taking part. Until we meet again!

[Shaposhnikov] Thank you.

'Serving the Fatherland' Examines Military Life

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["Serving the Fatherland" program presented by the "Pravo" Creative Association; featuring interviews with Aleksey Georgiyevich Arbatov, doctor of historic sciences and chief of the Disarmament Problems Department of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations; Lieutenant Colonel Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Yerokhin, military pilot and USSR people's deputy; Rear Admiral Yuriy Anatoliyevich Kaysin, chief of the Operations Directorate of the Main Staff of the Navy; Sergey Mikhaylovich Rogov, doctor of historic sciences and chief of the military and political research department of the United States of America and Canada Institute; Colonel of Aviation Viktor Andreyevich Pisarenko, people's deputy of the USSR; Vitaliy Georgiyevich Murashtsev, people's deputy of the RSFSR and chairman of the Shchit Union; and "others"]

[Text] [video shows scenes of countryside, churches, and artist painting landscape, then cuts to show burning vehicles in Moscow during the recent coup, columns of armored vehicles lining the streets, shots of individual soldiers talking to citizens, people cheering tanks rolling along with Russian flags unfurled] During those days the military did not fulfill their orders. Yet everything could have been so simple—an assault on the White House, several hundred corpses, and strict order in the country. This, by the way, was what those who commanded the army, had promised. But the army—bamboozled by all our problems, with officers renting a few corners in the private sector, overloaded with generals with dachas, irritated by criticism, unable to distinguish anymore between enemy and ally, unsure of its own future and the future of the country it is called upon to defend—our army did not fulfill an order for the first time.

What should our attitude toward it be like now? Not toward those who gave the order—most probably, the armed forces will be purged of those. I mean the others, toward those who commanded the columns of tanks in Moscow, who sat behind the steering levers of BMP's. Should we thank them for not shooting? But this has happened before, in the civil war—brother against brother, son against father, and neighbor against neighbor. It would seem that they have not forgotten about this.

What can be done to ensure that any unit—any division or regiment—would only leave its barracks for two reasons: To go to war—heaven forbid—and to engage in training, without entering the cities. How can the respect that it enjoyed in 1945 be returned to the army? And how much must we give to the military! The army needs apartments and socks, it needs a new oath and new regulations, and it needs to change its internal climate, because respect will come only when every man wearing a military uniform feels that he is an individual, like it was in 1945. This means that the army needs reform.

In our program you will hear different opinions as to how the reform of the armed forces should be carried out. But everybody agrees on one point—the reform must be fundamental and very fast so that August of 1991 does not repeat itself. [video cuts to show interview Air Force Colonel Vladimir Sergeyevich Smirnov, People's Deputy of the USSR]

[Smirnov] The role of the army in this coup was planned and it was prepared a long time ago. As in any dictatorship, the ideologues of this state coup assigned the army the dirtiest role of intimidating the populace. This was prepared primarily through a cadre policy carried out by the department headed by men like Baklanov and Soshnikov. The most unprincipled, the most morally corrupt people were selected for the highest jobs of the top echelon, and undoubtedly, they selected similarly-minded cadres from the top down. It is not an accident that this coup was supported by all the highest structures, and that all the commands were transmitted without a hitch from top to bottom. And I think that no one should have any illusions—the army would have obeyed any orders it was given.

As far as the army is concerned, I do not think that anything has changed in the army. Information is being received that those who actively spoke out and declared their hostility toward the putschists and the putsch are still being persecuted now. Therefore, the reactionary forces in the army remain today, a lot of them. They are laying in wait and preparing their revenge. Therefore, I repeat that it is imperative that the army quickly get rid of the people who actively supported the putchists. [video cuts to show interview with Rear Admiral Yu.A. Kaysin]

[Kaysin] One might say that nobody suspected that such a situation was possible. In any case, there were no symptoms at all before the events. I am in touch with the command of the Navy, with the Commander in Chief and the Chief of the General Staff, and I can say that there was not even any inkling on the subject, not even half a word. I mean, it was all done absolutely without involving the top commanders of the various branches of the armed forces in the conspiracy, if we can call it that. I think that for us it was a surprise, just as it was for all of the people. Now increased combat readiness was introduced and possibly from the point of view of the external situation, the external political situation, if there is a power shift in the state, obviously some kind of political situations may arise. In this sense there was also nothing strange...[changes thought] We are military people, an order arrived, we carried it out. [video cuts to show Smirnov holding up a telegram marked Secret with the words "Vkhodyashchaya Shifrtelegramma" at the

top and a line noting that it contains a resolution of the PVO [Air Defense Forces] Troops Military Council of 19 August]

[Smirnov] I would like to talk about how it was carried out, how it was fulfilled. Here is a decoded secret telegram of the PVO troops, that is, the Military Council of the Air Defense Forces, with all the signatures, which was disseminated, and I think...

[Unidentified correspondent interrupting] Would it be possible for you to read it aloud?

[Smirnov, reading] The Military Council of Air Defense Forces Troops, after evaluating the documents adopted by the leadership of the country on 18 August and hearing the information of the Commander in Chief of [PVO] Troops, Army General Tretyak, resolves:

1. To wholly and totally approve the provisions, conclusions, and measures outlined in documents adopted and published by the leadership of the country.

2. To consider our main task to be its strict implementation in all formations, units, subunits, VUZ's [higher educational institutions], establishments, and enterprises, as well as among members of families of servicemen and all those living in the garrison. Responsible are Maltsev and Boyko. To all members of the Military Council, and so forth. By personal example, high exactness, to assume special control over the propaganda activities, newspapers, radio centers, to adopt the text of the Military Council's appeal to PVO personnel, and to publish it in army newspapers.

[Unidentified correspondent] So in actual fact they fully supported the position of this notorious Committee for State Security...

[Smirnov interrupting] Of course, listen to this: Speaking with Lenin's words, procrastination really is like death. Our great power has found itself on the brink of a political, economic, and social disaster. Its territorial integrity is threatened. The political reform begun six years ago has reached a dead end, and the way out of it is determined by Decree No. 1 of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. [video shows interview with Air Force Lieutenant Colonel V. A. Yerokhin, who is standing next to Smirnov]

[Yerokhin] I would like to draw attention to the fact—I may be repeating things since Vladimir Sergeyevich has already said that we are not talking about some kind of call for revenge, blood, or retribution on one and all—that these people who signed telegrams of this sort, they must undoubtedly bare responsibility in accordance with the law, as people who actively took part in a coup aimed at seizing power. But...

[Smirnov interrupting] Who betrayed the oath and the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

[Yerokhin] Yes, who betrayed the oath. But besides this, hundreds of thousands of regular servicemen were drawn into all of these events. Due to this legislative uncertainty of theirs they chose a strategy of passive resistance, a tactic of elementary nonfulfillment of orders. Actually, according to our existing regulations, they should all— hundreds of thousands of them—be prosecuted by tribunals.

But herein lies the deliverance of our democracy that they chose this strategy, and under no circumstances should a total witch hunt begin. After all the soldiers or sergeants who were given an order were bound by regulations to fulfill it. Our regulations, our laws, and our constitution make no mention of the concept of a criminal order. Despite a decision of the Constitutional Oversight Committee all of our regulations continue to have passages such as: Inculcate loyalty to the CPSU and invariably fulfill and implement the cause, instructions, and decisions of the CPSU. [video cuts to show an interview with A. G. Arbatov]

[Arbatov] Now these very generals who carried out the putsch also disintegrated the army. They caused the greatest damage to the country's defense capability. What they did in the past week, when they set the army against the people, was deal such a blow to the army that neither NATO, the United States, nor the whole world together could have done this, even if they wanted to. [video carries a song over scenes of demonstrations in Moscow past and present, historic film clips of events in the USSR, then cuts to show an interview with Professor V. F. Kovalevskiy, doctor of philosophy]

[Kovalevskiy] Why did the conspirators count on the Army? It seems they had grounds—I think they had. These grounds were that personnel were brainwashed with communist propaganda, that personnel were disinformed and isolated from society. The Army was literally struck by political pluralism. This political pluralism and generally the unnecessary politization of the armed forces, which is not allowed in any other armed forces, was implanted in our forces deliberately, implanted by the military political departments, by political organs and party organizations.

The Junta also knew that the armed forces personnel swore allegiance not to the people, and not to the president or the lawful state authority, but to the Communist Party and the government.

[Unidentified correspondent] I do not remember, it has been a while since I took it. Is that what the oath says now?

[Kovalevskiy] Yes, that is what it says: To the cause of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Luckily, and to its credit, the Army did not lift its hand or its weapons against its own people. It did not dare to. In this way the junta's wager collapsed.

[Unidentified correspondent] Excuse me! Maybe not dared to, perhaps it did not want to!

[Kovalevskiy] One part did not dare to, the other did not want to, to be frank. I think everyone saw this. At the same time, the recent events of the state coup showed that the all-Union reaction, the all-Union bureaucracy has a stronghold. And this stronghold is the reactionary military and the reactionary part of our general officers. First of all we must do away with military political organs as organs of political supervision, political investigation, and forced political education in the spirit of loyalty to one Party. [video cuts to show interview with S.M. Rogov]

[Rogov] And one more aspect concerning the depolitization of the armed forces. So that the armed forces would not get involved in political struggles, it is necessary to put an end to our present situation where we have red colonels and black colonels. If a person wants to take part in politics, then this political activity must be undertaken outside the framework of the armed forces. Otherwise this pluralism which has surfaced in our society will bring such a split in the armed forces, that the recent putsch would only be a prelude—like the Kornilov mutiny in 1917—before more fearsome events which will plunge the country into bloody chaos. [video cuts to show an interview with V.S. Smirnov]

[Smirnov] I think that the nucleus and the ideologists of all these preparations for the coup undoubtedly were the political organs.

[Correspondent] You have Army political organs in mind?

[Smirnov] First and foremost, Army political organs from top to bottom. The main stronghold of reaction and obscurantism is within these organs. It was they primarily who created the information blockade and it was they, primarily, who disinformed the military. And I think that while those commanders who supported the putsch are still in command, and while political organs still exist and control, the danger of the armed forces taking part in a state coup again is not eliminated. Therefore, I think that political organs must be dismantled immediately. The Military Political Academy must abolished and closed. I think that the generals and officers who took an active part in supporting the putsch must be demoted several ranks and fired. Only then the Army will be believed and only then the Army will begin to recover. I think that the first stage has already begun, but it seems to me that it is progressing too cautiously as if not to offend someone. How can we avoid offending someone if these people supported state criminals? No one here is calling for blood, no one is calling for arrests. However people must receive the corresponding punishment. [video cuts to show correspondent interviewing V.A. Pisarenko]

[Pisarenko] As far as political schools are concerned, in conditions of rightist nihilism within the country and in conditions of legal ignorance within the Army, we must urgently introduce the institution of lawyers, particularly now that we are proposing to do away with the military procuracy and military courts. They are unnecessary, they are a conglomeration specially created by someone. More so now that you and I have established that a military uniform is only to be worn by soldiers of the armed forces. No one else in the country should wear a military uniform, no one.

And this is where we must have lawyers and sociologists. The commander must know the mood, he must know the priorities by which he is to choose the main thrust of his activity. We urgently need psychologists. It is ridiculous how many suicides there are in the Army. Just take one military district and conduct an all-encompassing psychological analysis of these suicides. No one is doing it! And of course there must be political scientists. Sooner or later the political scientist will become, let us say, the educator. We must have him. He will draw support from... [changes thought] so that people would orient themselves in the political processes that are going on in the world. Let us call him a sort of a chaplain as they have in the U.S. That is approximately the role that the political scientist will fulfill in the armed forces. [video cuts to show interview with A.G. Arbatov]

[Arbatov] Over all the preceding decades we attempted to compete with the United States, we maintained parity. We saw this mainly as the number of weapons, we accumulated an enormous amount of weapons. We attempted to imitate every U.S. military program and to even add several programs for every American one. A strictly departmental and egoistic attitude to such an important and multifaceted issue as the country's defense influenced all of this. After all, our previous military leaders, in attempting to produce the same sort of weapons as the United States, failed to see that besides weapons, the country's security is based on many other things as well, even military security, not to mention more general issues. Weapons are just the tip of the iceberg. The enormous submerged part of the iceberg, which lies behind these weapons, includes first of all, a developed economy. Defense should not bring down the economy. It has not been cheap for the Americans either. They have had their problems, but nevertheless their weapons did not ruin their economy, their armed forces are not ruining the economy. We did this at the expense of the economy. We bled it white literally through our enormous military production.

[Unidentified reporter] I think it is 80 percent here, right, approximately? It is at least more than half.

[Arbatov] You know the figures differ. Even the fact that we still cannot precisely say what our military budget is, already tells us that the departments have been diligently concealing this, including military spending, in other areas of the budget. They juggled prices, nominating completely unrealistic prices on weapons and listing inflated prices in other areas. All of this must be put in order.

[Unidentified reporter] What would you propose?

[Arbatov] Well, first of all the military budget must be fully revealed. Besides, not only in monetary value but in terms of the real material resources that are invested into this sphere as well, otherwise we will never know if the figure is real or not. Prices on the same resources, the same raw materials, and the same machinery must be the same both in the civilian and defense sectors. We have one set of prices in the civilian sector and another in the military one. The prices in the military sector are considerably lower. So in order to compensate it was siphoned off the civilian sector.

Furthermore, what lies behind the weapons that form the tip of the iceberg? A reasonable military policy or doctrine also lies behind the weapons. In the United States civilian officials, civilian specialists were always deeply involved in the formation of military doctrine and strategy. Our military comrades have never said that the American strategy was inefficient. But they have never mentioned that the entire U.S. post-war strategy was developed in cooperation with civilian military experts. Who are the creators of U.S. post-war strategy? Macnamara, Kissinger, Schlesinger, the current Secretary of Defense Cheney, and many, many others. One could recite their names all day. They are all civilians. The American military did not consider that this was detrimental to defense, and our military men never said that this was detrimental to U.S. defense.

Of course a civilian does not know many things that a military man, who has professional control over these weapons, does. But on the other hand, the civilian specialist has a broader outlook. His promotion on the job does not depend on his loyalty to a branch of the armed forces. He can look at things more objectively. Therefore, of course, we are not talking about replacing the military with civilian experts. We are talking about cooperation, The military should not react with such sensitivity, should not feel that their prerogatives are threatened, when civilian specialists, who on their part are engaged in this professionally, express their views. [video cuts to show airborne troops boarding a transport aircraft, then returns to interview with Lt.Col. V.A. Yerokhin]

[Yerokhin] Besides a constitutional determination of the role of the Armed Forces and their task I consider that it is esssential first of all to adopt a law on military reform. At present, precisely the latest events have unequivocaly shown the need for, and inevitability of military reform, and the fact that procrastination over this issue is impossible. [video shows interview with Soviet Army Lt.Col. V.N. Urvant, People's Deputy of the USSR, who stands with Smirnov and Yerokhin]

[Urvant] The worst thing is that the problems of the Army are not being solved and nobody is presently trying to solve them. We have been talking about the fact that they exist for so many years now and we have been listening to ministers of defense for so many years now. They report on these problems, but nobody attempts to solve them. You understand that as a people's deputy I was engaged personally in the problems of housing construction for troops being withdrawn from the Groups of Forces. This is a very sensitive topic, and the people who found themselves among those withdrawn now find themselves—let me put it this way—in very difficult conditions. I do not want to dramatize it, but very difficult is putting it mildly. But so be it.

However, this problem remains and I consider that this is simply material which is possible...[changes thought] they could be used in any circumstance. They will simply defend themselves, defend their children and their famlies. There are more than enough examples. You know that there has even been a rash of such demands for attention to be paid to units withdrawn from Groups of Forces. But we still have the problem of those who have not been withdrawn. Did we have military camps [gorodki] that provided housing for officers? No. Even in our small garrison there were 360 families without apartments. These are people who do not even have their own corner and this is possibly the most frightening thing. [video cuts to show interview with Air Force Col. V.A. Pisarenko]

[Pisarenko] I wanted to ask Yazov a question when the closed meeting was held when Pugo, Kryuchkov, and Yazov spoke.

[Unidentified reporter] What question?

[Pisarenko] The following question: Comrade Minister, how could you create an army of practically 300,000 Armed Forces members without apartments? This is under conditions when the people never said that money should not be given to the Army. For the past two years we have literally been trying to sort out what has been happening in the Army, where is the people's money being spent. How is it that in this situation it can be said that an officer has no apartment, has no place to live?

Now I will tell you that I have come here from Siberia. There our pilots get into their winter flying uniforms in October. They have to sleep in them because they cannot take them off. There are no amenities at field aerodromes. They take them off in March, taking into consideration the possibility that they can fly home to the base where their families are once or twice a month. I am talking about pilots.

But what about the motorized rifle troops and the infantry. I do not even want to talk about them. Why? Because conditions there are simply hellish. Now I am not even referring to this withdrawal. I am not referring to it, let us put this withdrawal of troops aside. But the withdrawal simply adds to everything that is happening in the army in general. [video shows interview with Col. V.S. Smirnov]

[Smirnov] Personnel were often housed in bestial conditions. This is not a slip of the tongue nor am I trying to incite passions. I visited schools that were converted into barracks in which our glorious troops lived. And I think that if any normal person was kept in these bestial

conditions for a week, he too would look at other people as at beasts and would be prepared to shoot from the hip at anybody, as long as the order was given. [video shows interview with V.G. Urazhtsev]

[Urazhtsev] The serviceman in the army has no social protection. He is paid entirely inadequately in terms of the value of his labor. He has no social guarantees, is limited in his constitutional rights...

[Unidentified reporter interrupting] What do you propose?

[Urazhtsev] We propose, in connection with this, a whole series of measures. The Army will be cut. This means servicemen will get vocational retraining, so that everybody will be given a job, and first of all they will get construction skills so that each one would be able to build himself a house with his own hands. We have had contacts with Sterligov of the Alissa Company, we have talked with Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bocharov and with Gennadiy Eduardovich Burbulis, and other major Russian political figures.

In particular, as you know, the decree of the President of the Russian Federation on the Social Protection of Servicemen was published today. Under these difficult economic, social, and particularly political conditions that we are experiencing today after the putsch, the Russian leadership has found it possible to allocate new economic resources in order to defend the difficult and complex labor of our soldiers and officers, to help them improve their living conditions and to find a place in life. An entire program needs to be formulated. [video cuts to show interview with A.S. Arbatov]

[Arbatov] I would like to cite only one example here. They said that they could not provide apartments for officers or decent barracks for the soldiers, and now these unfortunate people are living in tents. This is actually the case. But at the same time the army is building colossal facilities that it has absolutely no need for. For example the tunnel facilities for submarines that will no longer be used. This is an enormous structure many kilometers long, 60 meters high, cut through solid rock for some crazy idea of hiding submarines in case of a nuclear war. As if nuclear blasts could not bury them on the spot.

Such uncontrolled expenses are what bled the Army white, what undermined the defense capability. [video shows airborne troops and marines in a helicopter assault exercise, then cuts to show interview with Col. V.A. Pisarenko]

[Pisarenko] Of course it is ludicrous that we have been beating our heads for almost three years over a clearly recognizable and visible problem—the problem of reform of the armed forces. And of course the personnel of the Army and Navy today are already tired of all the talk. The fact is that no serious combat work was done previosly and various deviations still remain.

They may build, paint, work in dining rooms; there are two or three duty personnel on each floor of the barracks. All of this is an irrational use of manpower. Reform is needed. We need to immediately examine the issue of changing to a professional army. If not a totally professional one then at least a mixed system for recruiting into the armed forces. This should be done urgently. Moreover, since there is such a quantitative disparity in the size our army and navy when compared with those of other nations. No other nation or taxpayer would tolerate it. And naturally...

[Unidentified correspondent interrupting] You mean, the number of personnel?

[Pisarenko] Yes, the number of personnel, of course. But when we have professionals the change will come about quickly. And of course the Ministry of Defense apparatus must be urgently reduced. Now first of all three branches of the armed forces already today are crying out to be reduced. Concerning the rockets of Glavkomat [main artillery command] and the RVSN, the strategic rocket forces, as well as the Space troops, this is a special category which must be considered separately. Here it is necessary to involve all of the Union republics and examine their future use. In other words there are three branches of the armed forces and as far as the RVSN are concerned, here a special discussion is necessary. [video cuts to show interview with A.S. Arbatov]

[Arbatov] A professional army. One can have mountains of weapons, but if soldiers cannot operate these weapons, if they are destroying them and killing themselves with them, then this army has no value, it can not complete its mission. A professional army gives a serviceman the opportunity to assimilate a profession and to stay in for a sufficient time to operate in the interest of security. Why were Yazov and others so opposed to a professional army? Not because it was expensive—I will speak about that separately—but because a professional soldier would never go to harvest potatoes, he would not build dachas for generals, he would never fire at people when that order contravenes the oath. That is why. They made the Army into a source of free labor to serve the generals, and that is why they so resisted a professional army. [video cuts to show interview with Yu.A. Kaysin]

[Kaysin] Many understand and consider a professional army to be a mercenary one. However, can we say that our Navy is not professional? Let us examine this. If we take a ship's company as a general gauge, sailors constitute 20 percent while warrant officers and officers, who are professionals, 80 percent. So, is this not a professional army? Of course it is professional army. It is another issue that in fact many confuse professionals with mercenaries. Under a mercenary army we have in mind that we will pay the sailors. We are presently changing to a two year [conscription] system, however our technology is such that, unfortunately, in two years we can not train a sailor to a high professional level, so he should serve not two years...

[Correspondent interrupting] That is what I am talking about, because your nonprofessional sailor, who theoretically constitutes 20 percent of the ship's company, by simply not knowing what to do or not wanting to do it, could destroy all of the professionalism of your 80 percent of warrant officers and officers, that is the trouble.

[Kaysin] No, that can not happen, because...

[Correspondent interrupting] There have been instances.

[Kaysin] What instances! I do not know of any instances where one nonprofessional sailor destroyed a ship. The fact that specialized training does apparently require review is another issue.

[Correspondent] What would be dearer and more agreeable to you? A professional ship's company, call it mercenary or whatever, with people who have come to serve for money because they like to serve. Let us assume, a sailor who signs on for five or six years. He has a place to live, a wife, family, and everything is normal. He is simply a sailor, not a warrant officer, just a sailor who is happy to serve. He is a professional, not a conscript. He was not conscripted. He has a contract. As an admiral, what is better for you?

[Kaysin] I understand here that here that you want me to give you a simple answer: Yes, better. Naturally it is better for me if I have professionals on my ship, sailors serving for five or six years or maybe more, because they will have some benefits coming to them because of their professional service. But this is not an issue that can be solved in one year, and currently we are moving toward, as you were saying, a professional navy and army. We already have experience, that is we are beginning to gather experience, because we have separate formations, we are following this structure. But everything depends on money. [video cuts to show interview with S.M. Rogov]

[Rogov] We have the following situation: We buy a lot of weapons but we do not have any money for their upkeep. For every dollar the Americans spend on arms, one dollar is set aside for upkeep. But with us, for every three rubles spent on weapons only one ruble is set aside for upkeep. That is why submarines sink and aircraft crash. That is why we have such a social situation in the army when people who are defending the motherland have essentially become outcasts. It is necessary that the military budget be under parliamentary control. Besides the military budget must finally be real. Not a five-figure sum which is given without any explanation, but like in the United States, where the military budget is a 300-page volume with tables and figures and the basis of practically any military program.

Of course there are many secrets that the Americans conceal too, but the basic picture is clear. And we too must know where our money is spent. More so now when little money is left for defense under the current economic conditions in which our country finds itself. To a considerable extent our economy has been undermined specifically by huge military expenditures when we tried to maintain parity with the United States and all the NATO countries of Europe, and with Japan and China. No one state can withstand such pressure, keeping up with everyone.

[Correspondent] Please forgive me, I do not mean to offend you as the author or as a person, but I was somewhat shocked by your draft plan for a reduction of the army and military budget by two, three times.

[Rogov] First of all this is linked with the fact that the foreign conditions affecting our state are changing. We have now stepped back from confrontation with the West. On the strategic and nuclear levels we are ensuring parity within the framework of the signed agreement. As far as conventional arms are concerned, are we going to continue to compete with the rest of the world? It is obvious that we can find opportunities for the economy not only by a quantitative reduction of the armed forces, but also by changing the structure of the armed forces. For example, the Americans have three branches of armed forces, not counting the Marines, and we have five branches of armed forces. Are we so rich that we can allow ourselves that which no other state can allow itself? No one has more than five branches of armed forces. Besides the armed forces, we have, rather we had separate formations of internal troops, the KGB, the railway troops, and construction detachments. Again, savings can be achieved by reducing these types of formations. [video shows rural scenes, marines arriving at a railway station and being greeted by families, then cuts to show the an interview with V.A. Pisarenko]

[Pisarenko] The army's prestige today, even after all these events, appears to me to have leveled out a little, because the army did not go against its' own people. Do you know how emotionally gratifying that was? We were not wearing uniforms, but then the aviators put on their uniforms and we arrived in uniform for the first session. Why? Because we were no longer ashamed for our colleagues. The majority of us, I am not counting leaders and organizers, but the army. After all, it was a great thing, I will tell you, time is short, but on 19 [August] at about 1700 hours [1400 GMT), after the address by Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] from the balcony, when he said that two days previously he had spoken with Gorbachev and he was well, the tanks arrived.

The tanks were stopped and a young lad, a very young lad—he was about 21 or 22 years of age—said: Hey fellow, I have just completed my service, why have you come? Moscow is a peaceful city, who are you going to shoot at? He said: Well, I was ordered here; and this and that. I spoke to a lieutenant colonel and he went away saying: I am leaving this responsibility, let the senior lieutenant decide. We stood there talking, we showed him the decree. He said: Listen, at whom are you going to shoot? At me? Go ahead, shoot now! My mother is standing just over there, and on the other side there is

your mother. Your mother will be killed. He said: Turn off your engine. And he turned off his engine.

Can you understand, it truly is a people's army, we have to simply admit that. And if we speak of the future of the army's prestige, tomorrow, if they let me speak, I definitely want to propose that the Supreme Soviet put the task to the Ministry of Defense to transfer the battle front—without weapons and sappers' shovels—to the fields and save the harvest. To allocate as many servicemen as will be needed—50,000, 100,000, 200,000 servicemen—to the fields, including representatives of the KGB, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the Armed Forces. That is were we need a front. We need to save the harvest, to save every crumb so that later, in spring, we do not swell with hunger. That is what I want to propose. I can tell you, that if the Minister of Defense will be forthcoming and will make such an announcement, I am sure that the combat readiness of our troops will not suffer and the army's prestige will grow incredibly because we will come to the aid of our own people, we will not be going to fields somewhere else, but will be helping our people.

It is essential in this case for the Minister of Defense to give the order for the use of military transport aviation, so that everything is transported, from East to West and from West to East. All of these inter-republican squabbles should be dropped. Today all deputies at all levels must direct their efforts in order to overcome this year of hunger. [video carries song over shots of Soviet marines marching, troops on maneuvers, and idyllic landscapes, then cuts to show interview with S.M. Rogov, A.G. Arbatov, and V.F. Kovalevskiy]

[Correspondent] Now a final question, probably one of the last ones: How many armies will we have in the Union?

[Rogov] Of course we cannot permit a situation where several armies appear in one state. But the structure of the Union is changing and obviously the republics, essentially sovereign states, will play a considerably greater role. This will be a greater role not only in forming the military budget and not only in such organs as the Defense Council or say the collegiate organs in the Ministry of Defense, where the ministers of defense of the republics must be represented, but also in the framework of ground forces, in our opinion.

A national guard can be established in the capacity of a reserve which in peacetime will be subordinate to the corresponding republics and during wartime could play the role of a reserve for ground forces. And this national guard will fulfill the role of internal troops as well. In this case we think that this will help avoid conflicts through the establishment of opposing armies. But there are also such issues as the role of nuclear weapons, and in our opinion the spread [raspolzaniye] of nuclear weapons cannot be permitted under any circumstances. Now this is a problem that concerns not only us but the whole world as well.

[Arbatov] Yes, and I can add to this that technically speaking nuclear weapons must be centralized. Control, management [kontrol, upravleniye], maintenance, and modernization are strictly centralized functions. Technically they cannot be decentralized. In military terms it would be madness to decentralized them because with nuclear weapons everything must be linked by central planning, to include systems for preventing unsanctioned use, and ensuring reliable verification over their use in case of war. And finally, politically, we have a treaty, we have international treaty obligations—the whole world will turn away from us in horror if as a result of our internal events we were to see a decentralization of control [kontrol] over nuclear weapons.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, can you really have any doubts that the republics will reach an agreement over this issue?

[Arbatov] I hope they will reach an agreement. But if some republics break away it could come into the heads of some extremist forces to declare that they want to have their own nuclear weapons too, those that are presently stationed on their territories.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct]

[Arbatov] Yes, so this must not be permitted, of course, under any circumstance. And it should be made clear that if a republic breaks away from the Soviet Union, the nuclear weapons remain subordinate to the center— on the territory of this republic, if they so agree, or on withdrawal, if the republic denies use of its territory for the location of facilities and bases.

[Correspondent] I understand, thank you. You wanted to add something about the republics?

[Kovalevskiy] Yes, I wanted to say that in any event, the economic union and the political union of the future sovereign states must be supplemented also by a military union. And it seems to me that the new leadership, the new military-political or military leadership of the armed forces—let us hope the common armed forces—must be represented by the Defense Council established and formed on a coalition basis from representatives of the highest state and military leaders of these states.

[Correspondent] This was not the case before?

[Kovalevskiy] You know yourself how it was here. The center only....

[Correspondent, interrupting] The usual totalitarian system.

[Kovalevskiy] In brief, the Defense Council was an element of a totalitarian state and a totalitarian system. As a matter of fact this was one of the reasons and one of the temptations of these conspirators who counted on the entire military organization being constrained under a single leadership.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Rogov] The Defense Council in actual fact represented a threat to the country's security. After all, four members of the Defense Council were part of the junta. Of course, to build on these principles an organ that must implement the leading role in fulfilling the policy of ensuring state security, is something we cannot do. It is essential to take into consideration the interests of all the republics, of their representatives. Only then will the country's security be reliable. [video shows scenes of the countryside, churches and towns, an interview with a young woman painting landscapes, then concludes with the credits noting the program was presented by the "Pravo" Creative Association and released by the "Publitsist" Studio]

Baltic Affaris

UN Security Council To Consider Membership

LD1009074691 Moscow TASS in English 0633 GMT 10 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations September 10 TASS—The UN Security Council on Tuesday will consider the Baltic States' appeal for UN membership, the UN Secretariat said.

The council will first discuss its plans for September and then hold an official meeting to transfer the appeal to the committee for membership.

The Security Council is expected to recommend the UN General Assembly to admit Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia on Wednesday or Thursday.

Leaders Cited on USSR Recognition

LD0909171191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Excerpts] Tallinn, 9 Sep (TASS)—"The Estonian leadership views the USSR's recognition of the Baltic states' independence as acceptance of reality," says a statement by Estonian Supreme Soviet Chairman Arnold Ruutel. The statement emphasizes that this recognition makes Estonia's attainment of statehood irreversible, although a range of complex issues still have to be resolved in forthcoming negotiations with the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

"Talks between Latvia and the Soviet Union will commence in the very near future," said Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, referring to a telephone conversation held with USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The two men believe that it is in both sides' interests to start the talks as soon as possible. A. Gorbunov stressed that the Soviet president had wished the people of Latvia well on their attainment of independence.

Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis stated on the day independence was recognized that the republic will not take part in the new economic community being set up. The intention in the future is to base economic relations on treaties and agreements with the Union and with individual republics. According to the Latvian head of government, bilateral agreements between individual republics and states will assume greatest significance.

Western Countries Move To Recognize Independence

PM2708131891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Press Service" report: "Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and Hungary Recognize Baltic Republics' Independence. Will They Be Followed by the FRG?"]

[Text] On Saturday evening and Sunday morning the second subject carried in foreign mass media reports and commentaries, after that of M.S. Gorbachev's resignation as CPSU general secretary, was the subject of the Baltic republics' independence and the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Whereas some news organs claim that the Soviet Union is disintegrating, others warn that definitive conclusions are premature.

"We are not the only ones to be unable to say precisely now who will be in power in the future—specialists in the USSR are also incapable of doing this," M. Albright, a Sovietologist from the Center for National Policy, indicated. "At present I can only give the U.S. Administration one absolutely accurate prediction: The luxury of dealing with only one authority in the USSR has become a thing of the past never to return." "Gorbachev's renowned 'balanced approach' is no longer possible," P. Rodman, former U.S. National Security Council staffer, stressed. "We are now dealing with a totally unbalanced system the main power over which is held by reformers and Russia." "The West's last source of antagonism has become a thing of the past," D. Si [name as transliterated], a leader of the Heritage Foundation, said. "Instead of the USSR the free world will now be dealing with a very democratic community of nations striving to cooperate."

The process of the outside world's giving official recognition to Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian independence has begun. Iceland was the first to recognize these republics. Denmark, Norway, and Hungary have stated their recognition and intention to establish diplomatic relations with them. The question of recognizing the Baltic republics' independence will be considered at an FRG Government session on Wednesday, while the FRG has suggested that all EC member countries recognize the three republics' independence. The same appeal has come from Belgium. Voices in favor of establishing diplomatic relations with Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania can also be heard in Bulgaria.

Talks With USSR To Open Without Delay

OW0909151491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A high-ranking diplomat of the USSR Foreign Ministry who asked anonymity told BF [BALTFAX] that the first issue to be discussed by foreign ministers of 35 states at the Moscow CSCE Conference on Human

Dimension to open on September 10 is the application of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania for membership in the CSCE.

In this connection, the diplomat described fears that the Soviet Union may block the inclusion of the Baltics in the European process as "absolutely groundless." He expressed confidence that on September 10 the number of countries—members of the CSCE "will reach 38".

The diplomat also emphasized that, as far as he knows, talks between the USSR and the Baltics "would open without delay."

Future Japanese-Baltic Economic Ties Examined

PM1009093391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent S. Agafonov report: "COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] Restrictions Remain for Time Being"]

[Text] Tokyo—As distinct from other states which had already taken appropriate diplomatic steps to recognize the independence of the Baltic states, Tokyo did not make a diplomatic race out of this. Its intention to establish formal ties with Riga, Tallinn, and Vilnius was stated last week, however, this action took place only after Moscow's position on this delicate problem was determined.

However, these nuances worry few people today. Three new embassies will appear in Tokyo, and that is interesting in itself; but far more interesting is what the picture of "Baltic diplomacy" looks like in the Japanese capital, at least in the initial period. There is no clear-cut answer to this question as yet, nor are there even all that many noncommital declarations: It has been stated, for example, that relations with the Baltic republics will be special and different from the contacts maintained with the Union (while it is still the Union) and its individual constituent republics. What is meant by "special," however, is unclear. It can be presumed with a large measure of certainty that this will primarily affect trade and economic ties and financial aid. The proposal has been made, for example, that official Japanese aid for development needs, which is allocated by the government among developing states, be extended to the Baltic. True, this will require some time, since it will be necessary to show that Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania are developing countries rather than any other sort. The training of small groups of cadres assigned to various "skills-enhancement courses" is the most realistic proposition in the immediate future.

This matter is undoubtedly important, but I would venture to suggest that the free Balts would like something else—at least assistance in renewing their industry and access to advanced technologies and technical innovations. It would seem that Tokyo's new diplomatic partners are entitled to count on Japanese favor in this sphere, particularly as the Japanese have preeminence in a majority of the so-called "high-tech" sectors. However, the independent Baltic will have to wait for the time being—this conclusion can be drawn from reading the statements of an "authoritative government source" distributed here.

The "source" cited by Japanese newspapers has defined in a few terse phrases Tokyo's attitude to the "technological problem,"—Japan will examine this question on the basis that COCOM restrictions apply to the three Baltic republics.

The statement is too clear to require further commentary. The return to the "family of free nations" is splendid, but no one has lifted COCOM restrictions. And it is not unimportant that the Baltic republics intend to build a new statehood after renouncing communism—they will not themselves emerge from the ranks of communist countries, they have to be "brought out"...

PRC Prepared for Relations With Baltics

LD0709172991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] We have received reoorts about more states recognizing the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

An official declaration has been received from a representative of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Government of China is prepared to develop friendly relations and cooperation with the three Baltic countries based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, the news agency XINHUA has reported.

Estonia

Ruutel Supports Japan on Kurils

OW0909022691 Tokyo KYODO in English 0152 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Tallinn, Sept. 9 KYODO—Estonian President Arnold Ruutel on Sunday expressed support for Japan's claim to four Soviet-held islands off Hokkaido in northern Japan.

"Historical justice has to be realized," Ruutel said of the Japanese-Soviet territorial dispute during an interview with KYODO News Service.

His remark was taken to mean that the Baltic republic which won independence from the Soviet Union sides with Japan in the territorial dispute between Tokyo and Moscow.

Estonia was forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940.

The four disputed islands, known in Japan as the northern territories, were occupied by the Soviet Union at the end of World War II in 1945.

The territorial dispute is a major pending issue that has kept the two countries from signing a peace treaty.

Ruutel, stressing the need for Estonia to rebuild its economy, said the country has to learn from Japan, which has attained dramatic industrial development after the last war while preserving its indigenous culture.

He said he had an opportunity to discuss political, economic, and cultural problems with a Japanese government delegation which visited the republic's capital recently.

Elections To Constitutional Assembly Held

OW0909134291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The results of the elections to the Constitutional Assembly have been made public in Tallinn. The Constitutional Assembly is to prepare a draft Constitution of Estonia by the end of this year.

The newly elected Constitutional Assembly consists of 60 members—30 from the Supreme Council and 30 from the Congress of Estonia, a representative body of Estonian citizens before 1940 and their descendants.

Among those elected to the Constitutional Assembly are representatives of the Estonian Popular Front, the Party of Estonia's National Independence, the Republican Party, several right-wing parties, the "Free Estonia" movement (the independent democrats) and the Russian-speaking population of Estonia.

Businessmen Move Toward European Market

LD0909224891 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Chistyakov]

[Text] Cologne September 9 TASS—Estonian small businesses are to play a major role in returning the republic into the European market, Marina Kaas, international cooperation director of the Association of Small Enterprises in Estonia, told TASS.

She is attending an international conference devoted to the 100th anniversary of the Union of Independent Entrepreneurs of Germany.

"We are realists and cannot deny that existing ties with the Soviet Union are very important for Estonia. They will continue to dominate the republic's foreign economic relations for quite a long time since the Soviet Union accounts for up to 97 per cent of Estonian exports and imports," Kaas said.

At the same time, Estonian businessmen intend to pool efforts to "return to Europe" as soon as possible.

Since some large enterprises in Estonia are still owned by the state and the process of privatisation has a long way to go, they cannot act as stable and reliable partners for European firms, Kaas said. She believes foreign businessmen can fully count on small businesses.

Estonian businessmen have already established firm ties with several small businesses in Europe. "Our participation in the conference is a step towards strengthening these contacts and moving to cooperation with international organisations engaged in developing an economic policy in this field," Kaas said.

The Association of Small Businesses in Estonia has worked out a package of specific proposals and will discuss them with possible partners from Germany and other countries. "We hope to establish new contacts with the help of German independent businessmen," Kaas said.

Enterprises engaged in processing imported raw materials are experiencing certain difficulties. "That's why we try to orientate our plans for economic cooperation to material-consuming industries," Kaas said.

"We should fully exploit Estonia's scientific and technological potential in the current situation, prioritising efforts to expand contacts in training managers," Kaas said.

Union of Officers Formed in Tallinn

OW0909133791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1030 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A constituent meeting of the Union of Estonia's Officers took place in Tallinn Sunday. As Udo Helme, a consultant of the Estonian government's department for defense and border protection, told BF [BALTFAX], the Union will be aimed at creating Estonia's own armed forces entirely different from the Soviet ones. The Union will also nurture patriotism among the population and organize military holidays.

According to Udo Helme, the Union will provide social guarantees for its members, since under the Soviet legislation on pensions, retired servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces living abroad, do not receive pensions. This is one of the problems to be discussed at future talks between Estonia and the USSR, Udo Helme pointed out.

Latvia

No Participation in Any Union Structure

LD1009050891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Latvian Council of Ministers Chairman Ivars Godmanis has stated that the republic will not become

part of any union structure with the right to vote and will not sign the treaty on an economic union. The Latvian Government, he replied, is prepared to sign only bilateral agreements with the USSR and the individual republics. Regarding the nature of the forthcoming meeting with USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Godmanis said that the most difficult questions connected with the further status of the USSR Armed Forces on Latvian territory will be examined. The complete exclusion of Soviet servicemen from the internal life of the republic, in the opinion of the prime minister, and the solution of all the military problems can be achieved in two stages. To start, the Soviet troops will switch to renting bases [bazovoy status] and then begin complete withdrawal.

Army Pullout Discussed With Shaposhnikov

LD0909194891 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga September 9 TASS— During a meeting with Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeny Shaposhnikov on Tuesday, the Latvian delegation comprising two parliament deputies, is planning to discuss the status of the Soviet Army in Latvia and terms and conditions for troop withdrawal from the republic, Latvian parliament deputy chairman Andrys Krastins told TASS.

These will be preliminary consultations. Final decisions will be taken during inter-state talks, he said.

Krastins recalled Latvia's position on the issue. "We insist on full troop withdrawal and immediate closure of higher military educational institutions and military commissariats," he said.

According to Krastins, a total of 200,000 servicemen are deployed in the republic. First, offense formations should leave Latvia within a year. Later rear units and institutions should follow them, Krastins believes.

He said Latvia is not planning to form its own Army, as "we can hardly await an offensive from anywhere". [sentence as received]

According to Krastins, full-scale talks with the Soviet Union on a broad range of issues should begin as soon as possible, maybe within the coming weeks. In addition to military issues, all aspects of dismantling Union structures on the republic's territory and transfer of property should be priorities during talks, he said.

Economics Minister Discusses Economic Goals

AU0909113691 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 7-8 Sep 91 p 14

[Interview with Latvian Economics Minister Janis Aboltinsh by Barbara von Ow in Riga; date not given: "A Future Turntable Between East and West"]

[Text] [Ow] What are Latvia's most important economic policy decisions now?

[Aboltinsh] We will have to learn the basic market economy rules; that is our greatest weakness. In addition, we must push privatization and must learn to become competitive in the technological area. But we must also learn to modernize those areas where we are doing relatively well. Unlike the former GDR, we do not have a big brother who buys everything—and even there it is difficult enough.

[Ow] Do you plan to reorient the entire trade toward the West in the future?

[Aboltinsh] No, in the long term, we must see our future in an interim position between East and West. A total of 40 percent of all Russian petroleum exports—about 30 million tonnes—have been handled through the port of Ventspils (Windau). That will continue to be an important factor. The port of Lipaja (Libau), which the Soviet Union used militarily, will become an important port again. It is not without reason that the Chamber of Trade has already drafted plans for an international trade center in Riga. This city will have its future as a turntable between East and West, as a trade and conference center.

[Ow] What else can Latvia offer Western investors?

[Aboltinsh] The bloody events, the fighting and the barricades have, of course, deterred Western businessmen. However, meanwhile there are as many as 220 joint ventures. I am convinced that, once we have a more stable political situation, we will be an interesting investment center. We are, of course, aware that Latvia is just a small market for large investors. However, we are an interesting intermediate place on the road to the East. We know these markets, we understand the socialist system and the Russian language, and in this respect, we can offer our know-how to Western investors.

[Ow] The Federal Government has committed itself to work at the EC for the early conclusion of association agreements with the Baltic states. Will Latvia seek full EC membership as soon as possible?

[Aboltinsh] We hope, of course, that we will eventually become full EC members some day. In this context, it will, however, be important for us whether the Community really wants us to become members. We only want to become members if and when we have put our economy in order, in other words, if and when we have a stable currency and a qualitatively high goods production, and are internationally competitive. That will be a long process. I think it will at least take five or seven years.

[Ow] Prior to the war, Latvia deposited a tonne of gold with the French National Bank. Are these reserves more than of symbolic value?

[Aboltinsh] In addition to the gold in Paris, there are another five tonnes of gold that we deposited in London, and half a tonne in Switzerland. Of course, we expect the

British who sold our gold in 1967 to pay compensation. That can also be done indirectly, by giving us investment assistance, for instance. In any case, these gold reserves are more than of symbolic value. They will be a sort of guarantee fund for our future currency.

[Ow] Is the introduction of three different Baltic currencies at a time when the EC is preparing for monetary union not a step back into the past? Why has the plan of a common Baltic monetary system been dropped?

[Aboltinsh] That is a very difficult political problem. It took the EC 35 years to plan a common currency. I am convinced that we will achieve monetary stability and full convertibility faster if every republic puts its own currency in order. By the way, we cannot do it in any other way. How are the deputies in parliament and the people in the street to understand that they fought for independence so long and then do not even have their own currency?

[Ow] Aren't serious social tensions threatening in the case of growing unemployment in Latvia where Russians and other ethnic groups account for almost 50 percent of the people?

[Aboltinsh] Political stability is threatened whenever economic reforms require sacrifices of the people. However, I hope that all the people in this country see where our process will lead us. After all, we are dealing with each other in a civilized way now, and the economic situation is not that bad. The state-run food production, which had continuously decreased, has meanwhile been fully offset by the new private companies. In addition, we have had some stable successes. Our budget is balanced. If we had our own currency, we would not have any inflation. In addition, our trade balance with all Soviet republics is positive. No other republic can show equally good economic starting indicators.

MLNI Demands Government Resignation

OW0909211791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Movement for Latvia's National Independence (MLNI) has demanded the Latvian government's resignation. The MNLI argues that the present government was formed as a transitional one. In the opinion of the MNLI, after the restoration of independence Latvia needs a government representing different political forces of Latvia.

The MNLI has also decided to suspend its membership in the Coordinating Center of Latvia's Democratic Organizations since it was set up in the emergency situation when consolidation of all democratic forces of the republic was vitally important.

National Questions Chief Interviewed

PM0909130791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Steshenko, director of the Latvian department for national questions, by O. Meshkov; place and date of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are introduction: "They Have Woken up Abroad"]

[Text] It is probably these words that can be used to express the feeling of many Latvian inhabitants after the republic's proclamation as an independent state. Some rejoiced, others were really stressed.

The department for national questions operates in the republic. This department's activity will obviously greatly influence the provision of facilities for people in what is for them a new situation.

[Steshenko] Our task, V. Steshenko, the department's director, says, is to implement the Latvian republic's national policy. And the range of questions is very wide: from the observance of human rights to the solution of conflict situations connected with manifestations of everyday chauvinism and nationalism.

But there are naturally pivotal problems and all these questions are as it were threaded on them. A specific example is a knowledge of the state language by Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, and other representatives of the nonindigenous population. A special law on this population has been adopted in Latvia. In particular it provides for a direct link between a knowledge of the state language and the opportunity to work in a particular sphere of activity and hold specific posts. Far from everyone knows the Lettish language. And instruction is badly organized. We established that the 50 million rubles earmarked for the purpose by the former Cabinet of Ministers have been only half used and then mainly in the sphere of national education. Urgent measures must be taken. Our department has submitted to the republic's leadership a plan for creating a special center for the study of the state language.

[Meshkov] It is not only the adult nonindigenous population but also schoolchildren who are now thinking about the future with understandable alarm and where and how they will receive an education.

[Steshenko] The children will study in their national schools in their native language. A Ukrainian school began to operate in Latvia for the first time 1 September. Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Polish schools have been opened. This spring a Jewish school produced its first batch of graduates. Of course, there are and will be similar educational establishments with Russian as their language.

[Meshkov] There are 33 national-cultural societies registered in Latvia. What role do you assign them?

[Steshenko] A very serious one. Latvia has steered a course toward restoring national-cultural autonomy,

using the rich experience of the twenties and thirties. At the time these formations, which operated in Latvia and Estonia, were considered some of the most progressive in Europe. The free development of national-ethnic groups and their right to cultural autonomy are protected by the law in the republic. Our department has presented the Supreme Soviet with a draft resolution on the use of 1 million rubles from next year's republic budget for the needs of the national-cultural societies.

We intend to suggest making changes to the republic's existing legislation. They are connected with ensuring that tax benefits extend to the activity of national-cultural societies and to sponsors' investments. [Steshenko ends]

...As you can understand the interview discussed the current affairs of the department's staffers. And what concerns them most of all is the psychological state of society. In the first days after the proclamation of the republic's state independence there were endless telephone calls. People were asking: "What should we do?" They received the same advice:

"Don't panic, work calmly!"

Danish Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

LD0909210791 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga September 9 TASS—Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen has been the first foreign minister to visit Latvia after recognising its independence.

Today, Ellemann-Jensen met republican parliament and government leaders to discuss developing contacts.

"We are two small states and should stick together and resolve complex problems together," the minister told a news conference.

Ellemann-Jensen noted that the Baltic republics should pass three stages before they join the European Community. First, EC experts should study the possibilities for cooperation with the Baltic states and provide assistance to them.

As the second step, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia should be granted associated membership, and after market relations and democracy are established in them, talks could begin on their full-fledged participation in the European Community, Ellemann-Jensen said.

The minister said he hoped that the Baltic states will take part in the human dimension conference in Moscow, due to open on Tuesday, equally with other states.

"This means that Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia should observe all international human rights norms and universally recognised provisions on ethnic minorities. I am convinced that the Baltic states intend to fulfil them," the minister said.

A Latvian parliament spokesman told correspondents that the Finnish foreign minister and the Finnish parliament's delegation is expected to arrive in the republic on Tuesday. He said German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher is expected to arrive in Latvia on Thursday and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on Saturday.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Reviews Road to Independence

AU0909140691 Vienna PROFIL in German 9 Sep 91 pp 60-62

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by Andre Igler in Vilnius; date not given: "We Were Never Scared"]

[Text] [Igler] For 35 years you taught music at the Vilnius conservatory, just opposite the building of the Soviet KGB and with a view to a statue of Lenin. Now you have led your country into independence. Why you?

[Landsbergis] From your question one can tell how you people in the West have always linked history to very specific personalities, while here things are different. Here, history is taking an inevitable course. That course is pursued with or without me. Maybe things would have developed in a slightly different way without me, the path might have been a different one but not the destination we have been aiming for.

[Igler] Still, what has personally influenced you to pursue that course? After all, you did not have any political experience before?

[Landsbergis] Contrary to what the West is obviously seeing, I have been involved in preparing the recent events for a long time. During the leadenness of the years of occupation, our society continued to develop, and I made my contribution. In the classes I gave on music and the history of music as well as in my written works I always had those values in mind that we wanted to defend, and it was those very values the USSR wanted to destroy. My colleagues at the university and I did not teach Lithuanian music and Lithuanian culture as an end in itself but to prove that Lithuania has its own cultural and historical identity. We have always considered this to be a principally political activity.

[Igler] A kind of cultural resistance?

[Landsbergis] Yes. After the Soviets finally quelled the secret armed resistance, the people of my generation resumed the struggle in their very own way. We were only waiting for our chance. The thaw under Khrushchev

initially encouraged us greatly but soon we would get disappointed. The bloody suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 taught us that the struggle for independence would take a long time and that we had to prepare it well and a long time ahead.

[Igler] On 11 March 1990, you were sworn in as parliamentary president and you declared Lithuanian independence the same day. Was that not a somewhat hasty decision?

[Landsbergis] The decision had been made a long time before it. Our program for the parliamentary elections provided for an immediate independence declaration. First we were wondering whether tactically it would be better to make the declaration immediately or to wait some time. However, President Gorbachev made the decision easy for us because his public statements at the time did not really leave us any illusions. When he visited Lithuania in January 1990, he said that it was necessary to issue as quickly as possible a Soviet law that would settle the issue of secession of individual republics from the Union, and we had to forestall that law. We declared independence in March 1990. Shortly after that, the law was passed in the Supreme Soviet. This was also when the Supreme Soviet amplified Gorbachev's powers. However, all that no longer applied to us.

[Igler] You are a chess player. Did you plan each move of the past 18 months precisely or did you improvise?

[Landsbergis] From the very beginning we knew very well what we had to do. The only thing we were unable to anticipate was how the other side would react. Therefore, from the very beginning we had been prepared for the worst, even for a military aggression.

[Igler] In the night before 13 January 1991, when the Soviet Army started its attacks against targets in Vilnius, did you think for a moment that everything would be over now?

[Landsbergis] Yes, that is what we thought, but it was not the only time. Still, we were never scared but always determined to take action ourselves. I was sitting in my office here when information was coming in that Lithuanian citizens were being killed in front of the television tower, and there was nothing I could do. I tried to telephone Gorbachev in the Kremlin but I was told by one of his secretaries that it was absolutely impossible to wake up the first secretary at such an hour. We were so desperate that I rang the White House in Washington, but under the number that we had been given there was only the voice of answering machine. There was a moment when I thought that I had been deserted by both, East and West. I thought that this was the end and that we had no other choice but to face it standing up. We were ready to die, because we knew that, in the long run, such outright aggression would strengthen our legitimacy. In the short period of open fighting between the Lithuanian Army and the Red Army our independence became reality.

[Igler] Could you not have telephoned other Western heads of state? After all, the telephone lines were still intact.

[Landsbergis] We neither had the time nor the right telephone numbers. Terrible new information was constantly coming in. We were preparing for armed resistance in the parliamentary building. A huge crowd had assembled outside the building, while inside parliament was in permanent session.

[Igler] When did you get through to Gorbachev?

[Landsbergis] Not until the next morning.

[Igler] What impression did he make on you?

[Landsbergis] An impression of somebody who was completely detached from reality. He seemed absolutely uninformed about the developments and the massacres. He gave the unreal impression of a man who was looking at everything through a distorting mirror, he had an absolutely warped image of the events. I still do not know whether people around him screened him off perfectly or whether he knew about everything and just pretended he did not for tactical reasons. Anyway, I managed to convince him to make a few decisions such as ensuring that our ambulance cars were permitted to drive the wounded through the lines of the Army.

[Igler] And Boris Yeltsin?

[Landsbergis] He was the only one to provide immediate help. He appealed to the Russian soldiers not to raise their hands against Lithuanian civilians and, in general, not against those people who were legally striving for independence.

[Igler] Does that mean that the Russian Yeltsin supported you more than the West at that time?

[Landsbergis] Yes, but that is obvious. Besides, it was not the only time. He was the first to recognize our independence, the only one who did not leave us alone during the January events and during the coup d'etat. We found ourselves fighting on the same side of the barricades, while the West took a wait-and-see position. In reality, the West was ready to accept the putschists.

[Igler] Were you disappointed at the West's attitude, in particular in January of this year?

[Landsbergis] That would not be the right term. We simply expected it. During the armed resistance of 1945-55 we also stood up for Western values while the West would not move one finger to help us. We have gotten used to it.

[Igler] Who supported you most on the international level?

[Landsbergis] I do not know what the Western governments did for us behind the scenes, but I hope it was more than what reached the eyes of the audience. Maybe

later we will learn more about it, which might change our opinion. For the time being, it is certainly Boris Yeltsin.

[Igler] Why a Russian of all people? Was Russia not your arch enemy? What game is Yeltsin playing?

[Landsbergis] For him, just as for us, ethics is the most important standard in politics. For him just as for us, politics is not just the result of the sum total of all pragmatic ideas. Maybe that is why.

[Igler] Did the West underestimate Yeltsin in the past few years?

[Landsbergis] There can be no doubt about that.

[Igler] He has been called a populist.

[Landsbergis] So have I. We have been given all kinds of names: nationalist, extremist, agent provocateur—yet all those cliches only have one goal, namely to cloud reality.

[Igler] When you proclaimed Lithuanian independence did you imagine that it might be the beginning of the end of the USSR in its current form?

[Landsbergis] Actually, I did to a certain extent. Nevertheless, that was not our primary objective. Still, we have always been of the opinion that all peoples in the Soviet Union have a right to independence. We were thinking—and probably hoping—that our activities would strengthen the independence efforts of other peoples. Still, we certainly did not expect that everything would happen so fast.

[Igler] Are you not somewhat scared about your historical responsibility? After all, the disintegration of the USSR might result in a bloodbath?

[Landsbergis] When you have the opportunity to undo a great evil than you will do it. If I had been scared of responsibility and our own freedom then I would have become exactly the man the Soviet power always wanted me and others to be.

[Igler] What has so far been the moment of your greatest joy?

[Landsbergis] That has yet to come.

[Igler] When will it come?

[Landsbergis] When the last Soviet soldier has withdrawn from our territory.

[Igler] When will that be?

[Landsbergis] I am an optimist. Things like that tend to take a certain time. What is most important is that the withdrawal begins soon. How long it will eventually last is only of secondary importance.

[Igler] Will you remain a politician once everything is over?

[Landsbergis] It depends on the circumstances. I do not expect to remain president for a long time, but I cannot make any predictions. I hope that I will recognize that moment and will not be blinded by personal ambition. Anyway, as far as this question is concerned, I prefer to rely on my artists' intuition. An artist always knows exactly when a work of art is completed. I hope it will be the same in my case.

Time Needed To Define Ties With Moscow

PM0809170191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[N. Lashkevich report: "V. Landsbergis: How To Build Relations With the Union"]

[Text] Vilnius—It looks as though the euphoria of the first few days, when statements on recognition flooded into Lithuania from all countries in the world, is passing. Increasingly frequently the republic leaders are asking themselves the simple question: What next?

How to build relations with the eastern neighbor, a state that is being transformed into a national-territorial formation that is not yet quite clear to Lithuania? How will the republics behave in the so-called transitional period? How will the new supreme organs of power work? Is it worth entering into an economic union or not?

"Before talking about entering into a new political or economic union, we need to carefully study the relevant proposals from the Soviet side," V. Landsbergis told your IZVESTIYA correspondent. "Our aim is to establish direct bilateral ties on an interstate basis both with the new power structure and with individual republics. At the moment it is unclear what the renewed Union will be like and what specific form our participation in its political and economic life will take.

Here is a short commentary given to IZVESTIYA by Prime Minister G. Vagnorius.

"At the moment we cannot adopt any decisions on entering into economic collaboration," he said. "Time is needed for clearer and more thought-out actions, and we need to get a picture of the special features of the transitional period in the USSR and see how the process will develop in the East. I do not think that the Lithuanian people are prepared to enter into a new political union, but as far as a new economic community, similar to the one that has been created in Europe, for instance, is concerned, Lithuania will maintain contacts on the basis of trade and other industrial treaties.

"We do not intend to introduce our own currency this year. Haste is out of place here; we need to prepare ourselves well and agree on further economic ties with Russia. In the sphere of bilateral relations in general, regardless of the supreme organs of power—as long as they are constitutional, naturally—it is important to be

guided by practical sense and not by political motives. Nothing prevents us from finding a common language now."

Spokesman Assesses Relations With USSR

LD0909155391 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius September 9 TASS—"We have received no information so far on the time, place and status of talks or other meetings between representatives of the Lithuanian republic and the USSR," the press secretary of the Lithuanian parliament told TASS, when asked about concrete steps to settle outstanding problems between Lithuania and the USSR, expected in the foreseeable future.

Expounding on his answer, he also said that the Lithuanian authorities have still not received any official documents, confirming the recognition of Lithuania's independence by the USSR State Council, reported by various mass media throughout the world.

The briefing was told about the report of the government's press bureau on the September 7 meeting between a government delegation of the Lithuanian Republic with the USSR Defence Minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and Interior Minister Viktor Barannikov. It says that the talks were marked by "good will, business-like spirit and usefulness". The ministers promised to "render all possible assistance in the solution of problems linked with the Special- Purpose Militia Detachment (OMON), to return all the property seized by this detachment and the military authorities, help the Lithuanian procurator's office investigate the tragic events in Lithuania, which occurred last January and this summer".

It follows from the report of the Lithuanian government's press bureau that the meeting arrived at the conclusion that the "withdrawal of the USSR interior ministry's task brigade, stationed at Snechkus, may be started without any delay".

"The USSR Interior Minister promised that the 1,000 or so Lithuanian youths, serving in USSR interior troops, would be demobilised immediately on reception of corresponding instructions from the USSR leadership," the briefing was told.

The press secretary of the Lithuanian parliament told journalists that he was informed about FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's intention to come to Lithuania on September 12. According to preliminary information, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will arrive in the Lithuanian capital on September 14.

Vagnorius: Cooperation With East, West Sought

PM0809133591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich report: "Lithuania Ready to Cooperate With West and East"]

[Text] Vilnius—We will develop economic cooperation both with the West and the East, the republic's Prime Minister, G. Vagnorius, stated on Lithuanian television.

In his words, the creation of an eastern market system can only be welcomed. He stated that the economic reforms that are being rapidly implemented in Lithuania geared to the formation of a free market may also effectively influence transformations in the Soviet economy. Thus Western economic aid to an independent Lithuania will be a positive factor for Russia and for the USSR as a whole, although it is not clear at the moment what that state will be like, what republics will join it, and with what rights.

Summarizing the preliminary results of the Moscow talks with I. Silayev, G. Vagnorius termed them very businesslike and constructive. Lithuania is not opposed to the introduction of world prices into the system of bilateral interstate relations although in the existing economic structure, unlike Western models, appropriate adjustments are necessary. These and other problems of the transition to direct ties in the economic sphere will be discussed in greater detail by working groups of experts, which will prepare the necessary proposals on the treaty on economic relations by the end of September.

Bundestag President on Bilaterial Relations

LD0909112691 Berlin ADN in German 0928 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Vilnius (ADN)—According to President Vytautas Landsbergis, Lithuania hopes for German support in linking the Baltic state to the international community. Landsbergis spoke at a news conference in Vilnius today and Bundestag president Rita Suessmuth also took part. She is on an unofficial visit in Lithuania. [passage omitted]

In response to a question from ADN on the further development of bilateral relations, the Lithuanian president said that his republic is striving for "fruitful and permanent" ties with Germany.

The Bundestag president was of the opinion that the parliamentarians of both states have already formed close and permanent ties. She announced that she has invited Landsbergis to Germany in his capacity as parliamentary president. The visit will take place in the near future. The further development of bilateral relations, in the opinion of Rita Suessmuth, will include all areas, without exception. Germany will work toward Lithuania being included in the Helsinki process and being accepted as an associate member of the EC.

Saudargas Comments on Polish Ties

PM0909140891 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 31 Aug-1 Sep 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas by Remigiusz Jakubowski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Jakubowski] Minister, following your recent talks and meetings in Germany I formed the impression that Lithuania was much more interested in establishing diplomatic relations with the Germans than in maintaining good contacts with Poland. I also heard about a mysterious mission to be carried out by the German ambassador to Moscow, who is expected to arrive in Vilnius in the next few days.

[Saudargas] No, no, nothing like that! The declaration of readiness to restore diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Germany cannot be regarded as a threat to Poland or seen as some kind of rivalry between the states involved. We have permanent contacts with Poland's Ministry of Internal Affairs. We conduct talks, negotiations, and discussions concerning many issues and diverse matters. I can already make public an official notification that we will soon restore relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Polish Republic.

[Jakubowski] Can we, then, talk about concrete aspects of bilateral Polish-Lithuanian contacts?

[Saudargas] Of course. But I would prefer not to discuss specific details yet. This is because there are still many questions and problems to be discussed. Our talks are factual and objective; however, after the recent days' events, the situation has somewhat changed. We share a state border. Relevant documentation must still be furnished for several agreed solutions, a joint declaration must be signed, and so on... It is a delicate matter. I believe that over the approaching weeks and months Polish-Lithuanian relations will become totally normalized.

[Jakubowski] I assume that this pronouncement also means that the situation of the Polish minority in Lithuania—and vice versa—will be regulated and normalized.

[Saudargas] Naturally. This is one of the many problems we have been discussing. In any case, this question is regulated by the relevant parliamentary acts in Poland and Lithuania. If we come across any discrepancies, they will be discussed in the course of mutual negotiations.

[Jakubowski] Poland's Foreign Minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, is scheduled to come on an official visit to Vilnius in September. Do you believe the visit will take place on the planned date?

[Saudargas] That particular visit was agreed upon earlier. It will take place as scheduled. However, things are changing now at a rapid rate. I do not preclude the possibility of exchanging several more letters and diplomatic notes in connection with the acceleration of the process of restoring Polish-Lithuanian relations. We met with Mr. Skubiszewski many times, we know each other well, and I believe that we can accelerate matters also through an exchange of notes.

[Jakubowski] Minister, on 26 August this year in Reykjavik diplomatic relations were formally established between Iceland and all three Baltic states. Several days later there were already more than 30 other states which expressed their readiness to establish such relations. France is also waiting in line. We know that Lithuanian gold has been kept in that country. It represents a colossal fortune. Will this gold be restored to Lithuania?

[Saudargas] Lithuanian national treasure is to be found not only in France but also in other countries. We are currently conducting talks on this delicate matter.

[Jakubowski] The question of a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, KGB divisions, and other units from Lithuania is another delicate matter to discuss.

[Saudargas] Indeed. A final settlement of these matters requires time. It will be necessary to sign treaties and agreements. Let me remind you here that the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic issued a resolution on a full withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from Lithuania.

[Jakubowski] Your statements and pronouncements suggest that you are prepared—at least to a certain extent, or in certain parts—to accept economic perestroyka in the Soviet Union and that whole state [sentence as published].

[Saudargas] I can guess what you are driving at. Well, I should like to say that our country is certainly interested in the economic transformations in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Lithuania will not have anything to do with political perestroyka in the USSR.

[Jakubowski] You left Lithuania on the first day of the recent putsch in the Soviet Union. Was the situation really so grave that you intended to form a government in exile in Poland?

[Saudargas] The situation was most grave and it was my duty to leave as I did. I left Lithuania with a heavy heart, but even in the difficult situation in exile I was nevertheless able to discharge my duties. Now I have the chance and the opportunity to express yet again my thanks to the Polish Government and the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Polish Republic, whose hospitality I enjoyed. And so this is what I am doing now: Thank you very much indeed.

[Jakubowski] And we, Minister, would like to thank you for the interview.

Delegation Meets Interior, Defense Ministers

LD1009054991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] A Lithuanian Government delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila was received by USSR Interior Minster Barannikov and USSR Defense Minister Shaposhnikov in Moscow yesterday.

Both leaders promised to render assistance in every possible way in the solution of the OMON special purpose militia detachments problem, the return of property seized by it, and problems of servicemen, and to assist the procuracy of Lithuania in the investigation of events in January and August and the tragedy at Medidninkai.

Issues related to material and technical supply and social guarantees on the territory of Lithuania to the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces who are in active service there, as well as other pressing issues, were discussed.

Troop Withdrawal To Begin in 'Near Future'

PM0909202691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent N. Lashkevich report: "Soviet Army Preparing To Leave Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—The withdrawal of USSR internal troops from Lithuanian territory could begin in the near future.

This was announced by the Lithuanian Government press office, reporting the results of Vice Premier Z. Vaisvila's Moscow meeting with USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Barannikov and USSR Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov.

Subunits of the internal troops will be withdrawn from Lithuania as soon as the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs is finally ready to take on their functions and the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], for its part, finds an opportunity to redeploy the troops on Soviet territory. The operations brigade which is in the region of the nuclear power workers' settlement of Snieckus will be withdrawn immediately. An accord has been reached on the early discharge to the reserve of some 1,000 servicemen who were drafted from Lithuania and are serving in the internal troops.

As for USSR Armed Forces subunits, the government press office reported that the withdrawal of paratroop units is planned for the near future. An accord exists on the creation of a bilateral commission on the problem of the Siauliai military airfield. Obviously all the specific dates will be agreed in the course of talks, but the Lithuanian side insists on the quickest possible pace for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In any case all military units deployed in Lithuania will henceforth have to abide by the laws of the Lithuanian Republic.

Withdrawal 'Years' Away

OW0909145391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1330 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "LIJETUVOS AIDAS" Algimantas Vaitkaitis, Deputy General Director of the Lithuanian Home Defense department, said that nearly 80,000 Soviet troops are stationed currently in Lithuania. "It is clear that all the troops cannot leave Lithuania immediately. The withdrawal will pass in several stages".

At a meeting in Moscov Saturday Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila and USSR Defense Minister Evgeniy Shaposhnikov discussed the possibility of withdrawing Soviet troops from Lithuania. On September 10 a Lithuanian delegation is to come to Moscow for more detailed discussion of that problem.

In the opinion of Mr. Vaitkaitis, in the first stage strategic, quick response, landing troops, the USSR Interior Ministry and the KGB units should be pulled out. In the second stage, motorized infantry, tanks and aircraft and, finally, logistics service must be withdrawn.

"Of course, we would like to carry out the withdrawal as soon as possible. However, taking into account the Soviet Union's position, it may take 4-5 years," Mr. Vaitkaitis noted.

Speedy Withdrawal Stressed

LD0909221991 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uztsila]

[Text] Vilnius September 10 TASS—"We understand perfectly well that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the republic is a process the implementation of which requires talks, but that the USSR armed forces should be withdrawn is not called in question," Audrius Butkiavicus, general director of the department for the protection of the territory, told TASS on Monday.

He pointed out that some ground for beginning the withdrawal had already been covered—draft boards and civil defence facilities were returned to the republic. "Further steps should be taken on the state level. One of these steps is a dialogue with the USSR defence minister beginning in Moscow on Tuesday," Butkiavicus said.

Butkiavicus emphasised that paratroop and special units should be moved out in the first place. "Besides, no tardiness should be shown with regard to facilities that pose ecological threat," he noted.

Asked about the destiny of military property in Lithuania, Butkiavicus said: "We have the right to all military facilities on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic as well as to part of the armaments."

"While being part of the USSR, Lithuania made its contribution to the country's budget. This contribution went to create this property," Butkiavicus stressed.

On prospects for ensuring Lithuania's defence capability, Butkiavicus pointed out that respective republican services such as the border and territorial protection services and rapid reaction units had already been set up. At the same he drew attention to the fact that "not a single state can protect itself with its own forces in present-day conditions". He said Lithuania intended to get integrated into the European collective security system.

"The withdrawal of the Soviet army should begin as early as this year," Butkiavicus stressed. However, he did not mention the possible date for the completion of this process. "We treat with understanding problems faced by the Soviet Union and do not intend to demand what is impossible to achieve. We will aspire to solve these issues jointly relying on inter-state accords. We are going to Moscow to prepare exactly these accords," Butkiavicus said.

Yazov, Kryuchkov, Others To Be Questioned

LD0909205291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1902 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius, 9 Sep (TASS)—After a meeting with leaders of RSFSR law enforcement bodies, Lithuanian General Procurator Arturas Paulauskas stated to journalists: "Agreement was reached that they will allow us to question former USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov; Vladimir Kryuchkov, former chairman of the USSR KGB; and other persons involved in events in Lithuania in January and August 1991; and they will assist the fulfillment of our individual instructions, for example, in searching for and arresting state criminals and extraditing them to Lithuanian authorities."

New Local Authorities Appointed

LD1009085491 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius September 9 TASS—Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis today signed an instruction on disbanding the Vilnius and Salcininkai District departments and dismissing all heads, deputy heads and secretaries of these self- governing departments, approved by regional council sessions.

The government's instruction followed the republican parliament's decision to disband the Vilnius and Salcininkai district and Sneckus settlement councils for "illegal and unconstitutional" activities by the local councils and for their "support" to putschists.

The last meeting of the extraordinary parliament session last week discussed the draft document on introducing direct rule in the territorial-administrative units, but it was not passed because of the lack of quorum.

Today, the deputy prime minister appointed government representatives "to exercise managing functions on the self- governing territories."

According to the draft, government representatives have unlimited powers. They have the right to dismiss employees and officials appointed or approved by self-government bodies and their departments, suspend councils' activities and carry out their functions, appoint officials and take other decisions.

Although the instruction reads that these are provisional measures, aggravation of tension is possible between ethnic Lithuanians and Poles making up the majority in these districts or Russians in Sneckus.

The Polish faction in the republican parliament resolutely opposed the disbandment of district councils and their self- government bodies.

Lozoraitis Appointed Envoy to U.S.

LD0909220291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] According to today's decision by the praesidium of the Republic of Lithuania, Stasys Lozoraitis, Lithuanian representative in Washington and at the Holy See, has been appointed ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to the United States of America.

Yeltsin Called Symbol of 'Free, Democratic Russia'

PM0909100591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy "utilizing INTERCEPT materials": "Nobody Wants To See Us Strong"]

[Text] During the last days of August left-wing radical democrats and journalists supporting them took advantage of a statement for the press by Pavel Voshchanov, press secretary to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president, on the problem of the unsettled nature of borders in the event of the USSR's radical disintegration, and mounted a concerted attack on Boris Yeltsin's activities during the days following the putsch. Left-wing radical newspapers were full of headlines: "Yeltsin's Mistake," "Restructuring of Russian Borders: Bluff, Megalomania, Or a Result of Insomnia?" and "Metamorphoses of Yeltsin's National Politics" (an allusion to Hitler's national socialism?—author's note). People known throughout the country and the world accused Yeltsin of having imperial ambitions, and some even raised the question of whether it is necessary to support Yeltsin at all.

This unexpected turn did not go unnoticed by foreign commentators. Radio Liberty gave its opinion of this subject 3 September. The commentator asks why, for what reasons, did many newspapers and journals in the West and, subsequently, the Soviet press hold personal ambition, an inordinate thirst for power, and a desire to elevate himself at the cost of making empty promises responsible for Yeltsin's opposition to the party-bureaucratic system at the end of the eighties, for his election campaign to the Union Supreme Soviet and the Russian Supreme Soviet, and, finally, for the nomination of his candidacy for the post of RSFSR president? Highly-qualified Western specialists on the Russian soul and Soviet problems were indignant all together on seeing the takeoff of Yeltsin's political career: What right does this muzhik have to put spokes in the wheel of our dear Mikhail Sergeyevich? This is stated in the Radio Liberty commentary. Yeltsin's election to the Russian presidency—and a nice boy from the very liberal British newspaper THE GUARDIAN, who knows Russian affairs very well, demonstrates to millions of television viewers that it is possible to expect anything of Yeltsin and, in general: "My Moscow friends consider him a new Mussolini." But when this "Mussolini" climbed onto a tank to appeal to the people to defend freedom and law, then the spiteful critics fell silent.

Only for a short while, however. PRAVDA was given a bit of a spanking, and they at once started shouting about freedom of the press being stifled. Oblast and rayon party committees had only to be closed down, and they at once started lecturing about the charms of a multiparty system. There was more to come. Here there was a smell of great-power Russian chauvinism, imperial ambitions, and Czar Boris. Not everyone thinks and writes like this. Many Western mass media and politicians of Western countries, even if not the majority, realize that Boris Yeltsin and his time symbolize the start of a new era in the history of the country called Russia, they realize and welcome this. By what are the aforementioned critics of Yeltsin guided?—the Radio Liberty commentator asks. There are various reasons. Some are probably guided by a misunderstanding of the critical approach. Others by a desire to distinguish themselves and appear original: Everyone is applauding, they say, but we are hissing. Yet others, well in with high political spheres, do this perfectly consciously. Yeltsin is a symbol of the new, free, democratic Russia which its peoples need, but not everyone in the West needs it. The specter of a strong, capable, dynamic Russia frightens some people just as badly as the notorious specter of communism did in days of old.

St Petersburg Mayor Sobchak Interviewed

AU0909130391 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 9 Sep 91 pp 172-176

[Interview with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak by Joerg R. Mettke and Christian Neef: "Russia Remains a Big Power"—place and date not given]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, why did the putsch in August fail?

[Sobchak] The reactionaries who failed all grew up in the Soviet system. This system preferred mediocrity and isolated real characters for decades. Therefore, none of the putschists wanted to assume responsibility and give the decisive order.

[DER SPIEGEL] Not even martial Marshal Yazov?

[Sobchak] They were trying for two days to persuade him to sign the order to storm the White House in Moscow, attack our City Hall, and deploy troops against the people. Today we are really amazed that these totally unqualified people in the highest state and party offices were at all able to govern a country. They were all small officials who happened to rise to the top of the power pyramid. That holds particularly true for Yanayev who did not understand for a long time why he had become vice president.

[DER SPIEGEL] The Russian democrats had predicted for the Congress of People's Deputies a continuation of the putsch by constitutional means.

[Sobchak] The reactionary forces have lost their leaders; they do not have anybody able to offer the people anything. Therefore, there has been no attempt in the Congress to retaliate.

[DER SPIEGEL] If the putsch had not failed so quickly, would the deputies then have backed the junta?

[Sobchak] The plotters probably expected they would. There are as many as 300 party secretaries among the

Congress members, party officials whose regional and local committees have meanwhile been sealed, and who do not know where to get their next salary. That is why the role played by Parliament President Anatoliy Lukyanov was so disastrous. He had assured the putschists that he would enforce all their "decisions" in the Supreme Soviet.

[DER SPIEGEL] This man is out now.

[Sobchak] Such whips are missing now. They are irritated. The Communist Party has been banned, and its property will be nationalized....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...which is not very democratic.

[Sobchak] It is. The Communist Party must change. We do not want to eliminate it. It may continue to be communist; however, it must be a totally normal party and must not form part of the state structures. However, the conservatives are shocked. If somebody had told them on 19 August that their party would be banned, they would have laughed.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you not have laughed, too?

[Sobchak] I, too. We thought it would take us years to change the CPSU.

[DER SPIEGEL] How will that be done in practice?

[Sobchak] Here in St. Petersburg—the Presidium of the Russian Parliament has agreed to give our city its old name back—only the party apparatus will be disbanded, not the Communist Party. That means that the regional and local committees, its organizations within the Armed Forces, in the Interior Ministry, and in the KGB will be disbanded—everything allowing it to wield state power.

[DER SPIEGEL] In large cities such as the former Leningrad such an operation may be possible. However, will it also be possible in the countryside?

[Sobchak] It is now being done throughout the country, even far away from the political centers. After all, there are laws to this effect now.

[DER SPIEGEL] Formerly, there were other laws, and no one respected them.

[Sobchak] Because the local princes knew that their transgressions would not have any consequences. It is different today. The failure to respect the recent laws on the Communist Party can cost them dear. In regions where Yeltsin's relevant decree was ignored, individual officials have already been removed from office.

[DER SPIEGEL] What is happening to the small apparachiks?

[Sobchak] We must not make the people who are becoming temporarily unemployed as a result of the new measures our enemies or outlaws. We must give them a chance to make a fresh start, in order to prevent them from going underground and fighting the new system.

[DER SPIEGEL] Which system? In the past already, various parliamentary parties publicly called for a state of emergency to be imposed in view of the USSR's chaotic disintegration.

[Sobchak] Extreme rightists such as Sukhov, Alksnis, and Petrushenko have already called for such a state of emergency for a year—as the only possibility to restore order in the country.

[DER SPIEGEL] How about the new Union concept of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin alliance, and what importance would a sovereign Russia have in it?

[Sobchak] The old Union has been disbanded. Now the borders between sovereign states must be discussed. There are already customs posts in many places to prevent the export of foodstuffs to Russia, for instance.

However, these republics want us to continue to supply crude oil and other energy resources. So the Russian leadership rightly says that Russia can as well sell its raw materials and energy resources elsewhere for hard currency and thereby resolve its supply problems. Russia can survive on its own. It must be doubted whether that is also true for other republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would the Ukraine not be able to survive?

[Sobchak] To be sure, all republics can exist. However, it will take them a few years to really become economically independent. So far, their economy has been totally imbalanced, and their intertwinement was geared to the distribution monopoly of the center. They all can survive. However, they must restructure their economy to do so, and that cannot be achieved overnight.

[DER SPIEGEL] So you think that Yeltsin's threat is justified that those republics that wanted to quickly secede from the Union would have to consider territorial demands by Russia?

[Sobchak] The formulation was unfortunate. What Yeltsin meant was something else. He means that no sovereign state can now define its borders unilaterally. That must be done jointly by all the republics, which must then agree on other problems: Can borders be crossed freely? Is a visa required? Can goods move freely? Must customs be paid? Above all, what prices will be valid—the present prices or world market prices, on the basis of rubles or dollars?

[DER SPIEGEL] Did the negative reaction of almost all republics—ranging from Kazakhstan to the Ukraine—surprise you, which said that this reminded them of the imperial practices of Czarist Russia?

[Sobchak] What surprised me above all were Yeltsin's statements on the border issue. This cannot be a subject of political statements, it can only be the subject of

negotiations at the level of experts on what did not exist in the past—state borders between the individual republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] That the failed putsch supplied a reason for taking steps against the CPSU was convenient for the Russian leadership. That it accelerated the disbanding of the Union, was apparently less convenient.

[Sobchak] Some of the republics declared their independence so precipitately because their leaders had to be concerned about being prosecuted for supporting the putschists. So they probably did not have time to consider long-term consequences: If and when the Union disintegrates, Russia will always remain a big power. What is more, the faster the Union disintegrates, the faster Russia will regain its former greatness. Other republics with their imbalanced economic structures will now have to consider becoming third-class developing countries without any prospects of dynamic development.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many nationalists who already think today that the "smaller brothers" would only eat up Russia's wealth will like that.

[Sobchak] Russian nationalism has this dangerous tendency. It is currently only being neutralized by the fact that there are strong Russian minorities in almost all the Union republics that could be misused as hostages. As Russia's leader, Yeltsin must draft a program on the repatriation of the Russian people to their mother country immediately.

In central Russia above all, there are thousands of deserted villages and settlements with fertile soil where these people from the diaspora could return—not as refugees but as citizens enjoying full rights who would find housing and work there. This is an elemental prerequisite for the rebirth of the Russian state.

[DER SPIEGEL] Other minorities are confronted with the same problem, and their situation is often much more hopeless than that of the Russians. How do you intend to protect them from the fanatic nationalism that is reemerging?

[Sobchak] I am trying to settle ethnic German Russians from Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and other republics, who were deported there, in underpopulated regions around St. Petersburg. We have already earmarked 150,000 hectares of land for this purpose, so that we can take in about 20,000 families and offer them land of between five and ten hectares. With such an agricultural belt, St. Petersburg would soon cease to have problems with its food supply.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will happen to Kaliningrad, the former Koenigsberg?

[Sobchak] I would advocate the idea that ethnic German Russians should be allowed to settle there. Eastern Prussia was a region with a highly developed agriculture. Now there are industries. For Russia it is an additional gateway to the Baltic Sea....

[DER SPIEGEL] So it is an integral part of Russia for ever?

[Sobchak] It is now at any rate a part of Russia. There is at present no reason, nor is it necessary, to revise these borders. In the future, when Europe is united, we may have reached a point when no one asks to whom this region belongs.

[DER SPIEGEL] The forced ideological and imperial community will be replaced with a voluntary economic union that will also be open to the former socialist countries, ranging from Bulgaria to Poland. This is a Russian idea. Has it been backed by those who are just about to become independent of Moscow?

[Sobchak] This concept of economic union has already been discussed with all the republics and has been generally approved. The meaning of the "single economic area" would yet have to be defined, however. The preconditions are a single market, the free flow of goods, and freedom of movement for labor and capital. In addition, a single price, monetary, and customs policy would be required. After all, the economic rules must apply to everyone.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will the great Russia dictate the rules?

[Sobchak] No, of course not. However, in many republics people who have no experience in state leadership have taken power. They often do not see which problems they will be facing. If Russia were to proclaim its sovereignty tomorrow and then were to act the way these republics are doing, they would have no energy this winter. Their industry would not work, and they would be facing famine.

[DER SPIEGEL] What competences will be left to the center in the new Union?

[Sobchak] In any case, they will be different from those of the past. The communist center definitely belongs to the past. What remains necessary is a coordinating authority that would prepare decisions that would then be made with the participation of all the republics.

[DER SPIEGEL] Chief coordinator—is that a task with which Mikhail Gorbachev should in the future be satisfied?

[Sobchak] That is one of the decisive problems. In a talk with my Paris counterpart, Jacques Chirac, I just said that we would urgently need a man like Charles de Gaulle now, somebody who enjoys the nation's respect and confidence, and is ready to assume responsibility for tough decisions.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you not see these qualities in Gorbachev?

[Sobchak] I do not think Gorbachev could play the role that De Gaulle played in France. He is a totally different type of man....

[DER SPIEGEL] ...nor is he a general, and he is not even a general secretary any more.

[Sobchak] De Gaulle was a politician rather than a general. He entered the political arena whenever the situation required the determination and readiness to take risks. Gorbachev, however, would maintain a wait-and-see attitude in dangerous situations and would avoid decisions.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have been suggested for all sorts of leading offices, including even that of prime minister, time and again. Which function would you like to have at the Union center?

[Sobchak] I have a function. I would prefer not to have any function. When this complicated time is over, I will go back to science. However, I was elected chief mayor of St. Petersburg for another five years, and I do not intend to disappoint the confidence of 5 million people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does a loose alliance that you are seeking to establish at all require a Union constitution?

[Sobchak] I would be in favor of it. It does not necessarily have to be called constitution. A declaration or charter of sovereign states would also be an adequate term. The EC also has a sort of constitution in the form of a package of basic, binding documents.

[DER SPIEGEL] During the transition from the old to the new Union, temporary special powers and special regulations will be in force that are not only intended for Gorbachev alone but for the State Council. How long will this interim phase last?

[Sobchak] That will depend on the course of events and in particular on the behavior of the politicians. The people will now watch us closely. They were on the barricades and risked their lives. They certainly did not do so for it all to take its old course.

[DER SPIEGEL] In what way will your policy in St. Petersburg differ from what it was prior to the putsch?

[Sobchak] There will be very dynamic political and economic reforms in St. Petersburg—without any vacillation or relapse into the former policy. We will move in the direction of a free market and a flourishing economy very smoothly and consistently—no matter what happens in Moscow.

[DER SPIEGEL] What has changed in this country following the putsch?

[Sobchak] The people's psyche has changed. They have experienced that they do not have to be afraid no matter how many generals and plotters there are, if only they join forces.

[DER SPIEGEL] Has Yeltsin's psyche also changed?

[Sobchak] You can only answer such a question for yourself. I know with much more certainty now that I can be sure of the people's support in my city. Yeltsin, too, can be surer of the people's support than he was in the past. However, that should not turn into power euphoria. Such a danger does not exist for me because I am not power-hungry. It is greater for Yeltsin who has always had power. But his staff of advisers are trying continuously to remind him of this.

[DER SPIEGEL] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, we thank you for this interview.

Warns Against Russian Nationalism

LD0709075591 Berlin ADN in German 0140 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak is calling for a strong successor to Mikhail Gorbachev. In an interview for the news magazine 'DER SPIEGEL', Sobchak, the most influential reformer apart from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, calls into question the ability of the acting Union president "to take responsibility for tough decisions." Sobchak said: "Gorbachev is no good at all for such a role."

While Russia will be the only republic to return to "its greatness" as a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russian nationalism was already showing a "dangerous tendency" of overriding the interests of other republics. Even Yeltsin could succumb to "power euphoria." In order to defuse nationalities conflicts, Russian minorities should be returned "to the motherland" from other republics.

Sobchak wants to play a mediating role in this. All around Leningrad German Russians, above all from Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, should be settled on 150 billion hectares of farmland; the city would then "no longer have any more problems with food supplies in a short while."

The Russian enclave of Kaliningrad, the area around the former Koenigsberg, could be inhabited by ethnic Germans again too. "When there is a united Europe we will perhaps have reached a stage where people will no longer ask to whom the region belongs."

Sobchak Announces Celebrations on Name Change

LD1009070891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0500 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak has stated that on 7 November celebrations will be held in the city on the occasion of its renaming. According to Sobchak, the mayor's office will not spend a single kopeck on the restoration of the city's historical name. He intends to turn for assistance to Gary Kasparov, who promised to allocate 2 million rubles for the renaming of the city.

From January 1992 those who wish can receive new St. Petersburg passports. However, to exchange passports, people will have to pay from 300 to 500 rubles.

City Soviet To Change Name

LD0909135291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Aleskandr Belyayev, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, said in an interview with an INTERFAX correspondent that the city soviet may soon be called the Senate of St. Petersburg [Sankt Peterburg].

The program of the implementation in stages of measures connected with the return of the historical name to the city on the Neva comes into force on 1 October of this year.

Reports on Statements by Moscow Mayor Popov

DOSAAF Activities Permitted

LD0609122691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] As is known, on 30 August, the activities of the Moscow city organization of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation and Navy] were suspended. Today we received a report saying that, on the basis of the conclusion of the Moscow city soviet's commission investigating anti-constitutional actions during the coup, Moscow Mayor Popov has issued an order allowing the activities of the Moscow city committee of the DOSAAF and its organization to be resumed.

Government Offices Relocated

PM1009080191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by V. Belikov: "Russian Council of Ministers Moving to Staraya Ploshchad, City Hall to the CEMA Building, and the Moscow City Soviet to the Lenin Museum"]

[Text] Mayor Popov of Moscow has issued the relevant instruction on the moves listed above.

The 31-story skyscraper formerly occupied by CEMA, with accommodation for 2,000 employees, the 11-story "Mir" Hotel, the 1,000-seat circular conference hall with its sophisticated acoustic system and a printing press.... All these facilities now belong to Moscow's City Hall. In the near future it intends bringing its services and working subunits, which are currently scattered across the whole city, under one roof. The Moscow government will also be going there, leaving behind the building at 13 Tverskaya Street as the official residence of the mayor and his essential staff.

Why does City Hall need such a large building? As City Hall Administrator of Affairs V. Shakhnovskiy said, the city authorities' apparatus will not occupy the entire complex of buildings. The skillful use of the hotel, restaurants, conference hall, and other premises in market conditions will make it possible not only to recoup the cost of running the building but also to earn considerable revenue for the capital's treasury.

"Are any other changes of address expected in the center of Moscow in the near future?"

"Yes, preparations are already under way. The Lenin Central Museum will vacate the building which, before the revolution, housed the Moscow City Duma. After the appropriate refurbishment this historic building will be occupied by the Moscow City Soviet and all its agencies."

The complex of buildings of the central party institutions on Staraya Ploshchad, with its powerful communications link with the whole country and the requisite office equipment resources, is being transferred to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, which will be leaving the "White House" on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment for the Russian parliament.

Moscow District Meeting Criticizes Mayor's Office

LD0909040991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Moscow has been declared by businessmen to be an area that is unconducive to the conduct of business. In itself, this does not mean anything. It is simply a declaration, but it should make the leaders of the city think. After all, the new authorities may be deprived of their support at a time when the struggle with the old forces is not yet over.

[Begin reporter V. Vinogradov recording] At a meeting outside Kranopresnyenskiy district soviet today, a large audience heard fiery speeches from deputies of the district and Russia against the policy of the mayor's office. Among many accusations against Gavriil Popov and Yuriy Lushkov were illegally dividing the city into prefectures without the agreement of the district soviets, an excessive concentration of power in their hands, curtailing the powers of the deputies, and the uncontrolled privatization of party property. [end recording]

Komsomol Central Committee Holds Plenum

Reform Discussed

OW0609161491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A full-scale meeting of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League (YCL) of the Russian Federation opened in Moscow on Friday. It is discussing

the self-determination of the Russian YCL, draft rules and program of a new organization emerging on its basis, its property and objectives.

In the run-up to the emergency congress of the USSR YCL, which is to decide the future of that organization, an initiative group formed by members of the Russian YCL put forward the idea of founding a youth movement in support of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR].

As follows from the initiative group's appeal, distributed among the participants in the full-scale meeting, the new movement would in the future become a basis to form a DPCR youth wing influencing the party's policy through its factions in the party's elective bodies.

Speaking in an interview with IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter, the first secretary of the RSFSR YCL's Central Committee, Yladimir Yelagin, said that the youth movement being founded would be not a political party, but a public organization. In his view, the Russian YCL, founded just a year ago, will not have to disband itself, but will just reform itself into a youth movement.

League's Preservation 'Futile'

PM0909135791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 p 2

["Own Information" report: "Russia's Youth League Stays. RSFSR Komsomol Central Committee Fifth Plenum Confirms This"]

[Text] Yesterday's plenum of the Russian Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee decided that "any attempts to preserve the All-Union Komsomol as an all-Union organization are futile and at odds with political realities." However, the preservation of the Russian youth organization is perfectly realistic, in the opinion of plenum participants.

Therefore they agreed to convene in October the First Conference of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Komsomol, which will probably be the last conference of any organization with that title (the proposed version is: Russian Youth League) and will make appropriate changes to the statutes. While stressing their deep commitment to the "federative principle," the plenum participants nevertheless advocated retaining single membership in the future Youth League.

In his speech at the plenum V. Yelagin, first secretary of the RSFSR Komsomol Central Committee, supported the decision regarding the collective use of the Komsomol's material base in the interests of all subjects of the federation of the current All-Union Komsomol (there are 18 of them as of now).

This problem arouses genuine universal interest. It is presumed that the 18 owner-organizations will form a consortium with the status of "limited-liability company" to manage Komsomol enterprises until 31 December 1992. That is, until the expiry of the All-Union Komsomol's banking liabilities. After this anyone who wishes can withdraw from the consortium, taking their share in the form of shares or money.

The most difficult thing—deciding that share—is to be resolved through talks. They are bound to be lengthy and strained. However, preliminary agreement has been reached on the principle of shared participation—not only according to the number of All-Union Komsomol members or rayon committees, but also on the basis of organizations' real contribution to the All-Union Komsomol budget.

The Komsomol leaders find it difficult to grasp that the the right to property is also enjoyed by the labor collectives, the people who have augmented that property—print workers, drivers, journalists.... What will happen to the "Molodaya Gvardiya" Publishing House and the "Sputnik" tourist bureau? Will the 18 subjects and heirs not divide them into 18 parts? The Russian Komsomol Central Committee did not support this position.

However, the plenum did not confine itself to discussing the details of the "divorce proceedings." There were also higher matters. The plenum participants paid tribute to the courage and steadfastness of the defenders of the "White House," honored the memory of the dead guys with a minute's silence, and supported the "Appeal of Representatives of Youth Organizations Among the Defenders of Russia's House of the Soviets," the idea for which emerged on the barricades. This appeal has already been signed by a number of political youth and student organizations—in particular, they call on people to support the Russian authorities' efforts to "bring in the harvest, prepare for winter, and combat crime and extremism."

Andrey Sharov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Youth Affairs, who attended the plenum, said in conversation with your correspondent that he supports the idea of transforming the Russian Komsomol into a deideologized federative youth organization.

From the resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the RSFSR Komsomol Central Committee:

"The RSFSR Komsomol Central Committee regards any attempts to transform the All-Union Komsomol into an all-Union organization as futile and at odds with political realities. In this connection the extraordinary All-Union Komsomol Congress must adopt a decision on terminating the activity of the All-Union Komsomol as a federative association of the country's youth organizations. In the future we think it is possible to decide if necessary the question of coordinating the activity of republics' youth organization after their self-determination;

"—the termination of the political role of the All-Union Komsomol as a federation of youth leagues does not mean the termination or suspension of the activity of the

Russian Komsomol. The RSFSR Komsomol Central Committee will continue to seek to safeguard the interests of the organization's members on the basis of the decisions adopted by the First RSFSR Komsomol Congress."

Silayev Quoted on Work of New Economic Committee

LD0709175691 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Remarks by Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev—read by announcer]

[Text] The resignation of the Union government has brought a crucial issue to the foreground—who will run the national economy during the transitional period?

The Soviet president has issued a decree in keeping with which a committee for efficient economic management has been set up. The committee is headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Ivan Silayev. Here's what he said about the activities of the committee.

The committee relies on the experience of the joint work of representatives of all the Union republics. It supports the proposal put forward by the Soviet president and top republican leaders in their latest statements. These proposals press for the need to form an economic alliance without delay and establish an interrepublican economic committee on a parity basis.

So at the beginning of its work, Ivan Silayev said, the committee has had no political debates. The following major conclusion can be drawn from the experience of this work: the republican economic structures can work jointly without waiting for instructions from the center and without any attempts on its part at dictating. The republics have good will and the economic interests which allow them to work together. It means that a new Union is a viable project.

According to Ivan Silayev, a new formula of cooperation is coming into being. The republics assume upon themselves a full measure of responsibility before their citizens for their economic policy and translate it into reality with the help of other republics on a mutually advantageous basis.

A group of Soviet experts led by the president of the Foundation for Economic and Social Reforms, Stanislav Shatalin, has worked out a draft convention providing for the establishment of a new economic community that will consist of the Union republics that once formed the USSR.

The parties to the convention, the draft document states, aware of the radical changes in the member countries and of the need to complete the economic reforms, shall set up an economic community. It shall be established on the principle of equality of all the states who volunteer to join it.

The parties to the convention shall proceed from the assumption that their economic system will be constituted of independent economic subjects. The member countries shall recognize the equality of all forms of ownership and all kinds of economic activities and enterprise.

The document then says that the member states shall regulate their relations through market mechanisms, and also on the basis of interstate, bilateral, and multilateral agreements. They pledge to establish clear-cut legal guarantees for free enterprise and support its development in every possible way.

The parties to the convention shall also proceed from the need to coordinate their actions in the field of the monetary, currency, customs, and taxation policies. The draft convention states that the granting of loans and other economic aid to foreign countries, and the signing of agreements for receiving such aid on the community's behalf from foreign sources, as well as the use of this aid, shall be carried out on the strength of the coordinated decision of all the states, members of the community.

The community is an open economic system that encourages all forms of economic cooperation with third countries, their associations, and their international organizations. The member states pldege to ensure the internationally recognized guarantees for foreign property on their territory.

Alekhin Forecasts Economic Hard Times

PM0909121791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with M. Alekhin, RSFSR deputy minister of economics, by V. Romanyuk: "The Harder the Economic Crisis, the More We Need Each Other"—place and date not given]

[Text] The extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies has just made some highly important decisions—not least on the creation of an Interrepublic Economic Committee—and programs and concepts are already being developed for the functioning of the single economic space. IZVESTIYA has published the draft Convention on an Economic Community elaborated by academician S. Shatalin's group. G. Yavlinskiy, deputy leader of the "interim government" has been instructed to develop the principles of an economic agreement.

The leaders of the republic's central economic departments are prepared to propose their own concept of an economic agreement between sovereign states. We discussed this with one of the developers of the concept—M. Alekhin, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy minister of economics. The recent meetings between the republics' ministers of economics have attempted to define the forms and principles of collaboration between the republics and to shape an economic community of sovereign states for the future.

[Alekhin] And this strategy is not being built up from scratch. It is based on the program of joint action to get the country's economy out of crisis, a coordinated policy in the sphere of prices, and reciprocal commitments from the republics to provide social guarantees for their citizens. These take account of the demands of the International Labor Office Convention (a minimum consumer budget, free movement of citizens between republics, and so forth). There should be a unified approach to pricing policy: Price discrepancies will put some regions at a disadvantage vis-a-vis others. Finally, the problem of economic ties should be a priority. A breakdown in ties would result in the collapse of entire sectors, a series of bankruptcies, and unemployment.

[Romanyuk] To what extent is Russia interested in the Union?

[Alekhin] To the extent that it is gripped by crisis. A collapse of ties will lead to a slump in output of articles of a production and technical nature and in consumer goods. The same is true for other republics. When the "parade of sovereignties" was held, it very quickly transpired that most republics—including Estonia—were not ready to introduce their own national currency and wanted to use a single currency at least until the end of 1992.

[Romanyuk] So just what are we lacking when it comes to creating a single economic space?

[Alekhin] We do not have a market infrastructure. I would highlight three points among its many elements. First, we need to shape the private sector more rapidly. To this end, we should privatize property at an accelerated rate. We are currently elaborating a privatization program and drawing up a list of facilities to be privatized: Each citizen in the republic will receive an investment check worth 8-12,000 rubles [R], which can be used to invest in any economic sphere. At least 30 percent of state property should be privatized in the space of two or three years. Large enterprises should be floated or even broken up. Second, we need to resolutely liberalize prices. Prices should primarily be free—that is, market prices. The simultaneous existence of fixed and free prices clearly gives rise to antagonisms, subsidies, and other vices of the administrative economy. Third, wages should be regulated. We must not allow wage funds to be inflated at the expense of prices and output prime cost.

Important factors in a market economy are the budget system and tax policy. Budgetary structure is now changing. In general, future bankruptcies of many loss-making enterprises will inevitably lead to a structural realignment of the economy. The first to go will be inefficient, energy- and metal-intensive production facilities. This will be followed by an expansion of the sphere of activity of social programs. Pensions funds, employment funds, and others are being revived.

[Romanyuk] If we are talking not of the Union, but of a community, on what basis should it be built? Will it be something akin to the EC or something different?

[Alekhin] Paradoxically, it was during the authoritarian system that we had an economic mechanism somewhat akin to the EC. The free market presupposes the free movement of goods, labor, and capital. Our goods were strictly distributed but did indeed move freely across republic borders; there was also a unified pricing system. Capital (like resources) was strictly distributed. As for labor movements, these were restricted on the one hand by residence permits, tying people in to social and consumer benefits, while on the other hand, they were limited by the lack of a housing market. The situation has now changed: The authoritarian systems have been destroyed, and we still have some way to go before we reach EC structures [k strukturam YES nam yeshche idti i idti].

[Romanyuk] And what can we expect on this road? An improvement in people's living standards or more "unpopular" measures?

[Alekhin] We have two or three hard years ahead of us. Most probably, we will have to resort to "shock therapy." Balcerowicz, the well-known Polish economist who has just been in this country, warned us against the mistakes made by his Polish colleagues. The mistake was being unable to keep inflation at a certain level, and, in general, results were markedly different from the planned goals. It will also be hard for us to combine an improvement of economic indicators with growth in the population's income. For instance, the indexing of the Russian population's income by 30-70 percent in the face of prices rises will cost some R100 billion, and such payments will have a destructive effect on the economy. I think it would be better to delay this law. We in Russia have already adopted a very good law on the improvement of education—and this will cost R20 billion. We ought to suspend the adoption of new social programs so as not to cause a new wave of inflation.

In the very near future we should decide the principles on which the new economic space will be based. Some socioeconomic approaches by various republics do not coincide and are poorly coordinated. I am convinced of one thing: We are ultimately obliged to move in the same direction as the entire civilized world.

Reports on Coup Investigations, Aftermath

Investigative Commission Set Up

OW0609170791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Leningrad City Council's commission appointed to investigate the circumstances of the recent coup d'etat has made public a preliminary report on the activity of officials, organizations and the news media in the city on August 19-21.

The report says that Gen. Viktor Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad Military District, "ordered on August

19 that troops be moved towards Leningrad." The head of Leningrad TV Boris Petrov "worked from the first hours of the coup to ensure the prompt and unconditional implementation of the State of Emergency Committee's orders." The director of the LENIZDAT printshop "banned the release of newspapers unsigned by a military censor."

The commission accuses all these officials of having blocked the publication and implementation of decrees issued by President Yeltsin and the RSFSR leadership.

KGB's Kryuchkov Said Behind Coup

LD1009095691 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The INTERFAX agency reported today that RSFSR People's Deputy Sergey Stepashin, head of the State Commission for investigating KGB activities, said that former KGB Chairman Kryuchkov was not only most directly involved in the coup but that he was one of its organizers. He stressed that Kryuchkov was the initiator and the number one man at secret meetings of the future coup organizers which took place on 8 and 18 August. Stepashin noted that the commission headed by him is to send some of the materials which have been collected to the RSFSR Procurator General.

Dunayev Speaks on Militia's Role

91SV0053A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report on an interview with Andrey Dunayev, deputy minister of internal affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, by V. Rudnev: "'I Will Shoot You First,' the Late Boris Pugo Threatened Andrey Dunayev, RSFSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs—place and date not given]

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia is still under martial law. Militiamen with radios walk along Ogarev Street. Inside there are submachine gunners. There is a triple check of documents. Finally I find the office of A. Dunayev, the deputy minister of internal affairs.

[Rudnev] Andrey Fedorovich, it is known that on the morning of 19 August measures were being planned for the absolute execution of orders of the GKChP [State Committee for the State of Emergency) in some of the offices of the law enforcement organs. In others, there were discussions: Is the self-constituted authority legal? In still others—they were waiting for orders from above. But orders were already issuing from Ogarev 6 that were directed against the putschists. Were you not afraid of the consequences? Or were you confident of victory beforehand?

[Dunayev] We did not have time to analyze the legal subtleties of the Yanayev decision. We understood one thing: Danger threatened Russia, its parliament, and its president, for whose protection we, in fact, were necessary. The entire ministerial staff was already in place early in the morning. There was no panic and the orders of our minister were being implemented efficiently. A guard was posted for the ministry itself and a reinforcement was dispatched to the "White House" on Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya.

My assistants and I began to transmit B. Yeltsin's appeals to the people and his first ukases to the localities and also to the offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia. At that time this was the sole capability for getting the order of the president of Russia to the local authorities and the people. You see, there were no channels other than the militia special communications at that time. Radio and television were transmitting the same thing—GKChP, GKChP.... However, we not only oriented our subordinates, but, most of all, we asked them to report the will of the president of Russia to the local authorities, to the people. There, where it was possible, we asked to speak on radio, television, and in the newspapers.

[Rudnev] And they listened to you?

[Dunayev] In different ways. Some caught the meaning at once. A lengthy explanation had to be given to others, and they had to be reminded of loyalty to Russian authority. For still others, you will forgive the frankness, it was necessary to yell and bang with the fist. Today many call me up and thank me for saving them from disgrace. If we had delayed even a few hours on that first day, it is not known how the situation would have developed. We ourselves have many doubters. But then, after all, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo was not only our chief, but theirs also.

But, I repeat, from the very first hours we gave clear instructions to the localities on how to act. And the Russian militia proved loyal to the people and to the Constitution of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

[Rudnev] The entire militia?

[Dunayev] Alas, no. The MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] chiefs of Bashkiriya and Checheno-Ingushetiya and the Lipetsk UVD [Internal Affairs Administration] refused to execute my orders. And Myrikov, the head of the Moscow militia, conducted himself in a cowardly way. Incidentally he, after all, not without the help of M. Gorbachev, was transferred from the authority of the MVD of Russia and immediately ensconced in the Union ministry. That is also why he behaved so inconsistently, looking first to Pugo, then to us, and then to the Mossovet [Moscow soviet of people's deputies].

[Rudnev] Finally 20 August arrived...

[Dunayev] Yes, 20 August arrived. Perhaps the most dramatic day. Sensing the resistance of the people, the government, and the president of Russia, which was growing with each hour, the conspirators were preparing

to assault the "White House." The forces available to us in Moscow obviously were not enough. Then, after conferring with our minister, V. Barannikov, I sent an encrypted message in which I ordered several subunits of the Russian militia to come to Moscow. I talked over the objectives and tasks with the commanders beforehand.

From the encrypted message. To the chiefs of the Orlovskiy, Ryazan, Bryansk, Vladimir, and Vologda militia schools, the Ivanov technical school of the RSFSR MVD. "Proceed on 21 August of this year to Moscow for the performance of service with personnel in the strength and equipped with weapons and ammunition according to previously issued instructions. Deputy Minister Dunayev."

"I had not yet received confirmation," the deputy minister continues, "when Pugo's reply arrived, which incidentally had been prepared by his deputy, Vasiliy Trushin. Trushin, whom the USSR president placed at the head of the Union militia immediately after his return! I understand that Gorbachev was not in control of the situation. But after all, someone advised him on this candidacy. Who?"

Governmental telegram. To the chiefs of training institutions, UVD. Copy: To RSFSR Minister of Internal Affairs Barannikov. "It has been learned that the leadership of the RSFSR MVD issued instructions to the personnel of a number of training institutions to proceed to Moscow with weapons by the morning of 21 August. Considering that a state of emergency has been introduced in Moscow, I categorically forbid directing personnel to Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Minister Pugo."

"But we do not yield," A. Dunayev explains. "To reinforce the actions of the leaders of the training institutions, I send an encrypted message to the chiefs of the UVD of the indicated oblasts."

From the encrypted message. "Support the arrival of cadets from militia schools in Moscow with motor transport. Deputy Minister Dunayev."

"Pugo makes a last attempt," Dunayev recalls. "After which, he also threatened me with execution. Moreover, he promised that I would be the first to be shot."

Governmental telegram "I warn in the strictest way concerning personal responsibility for the rigorous execution of orders of the GKChP, and of the order of the USSR MVD published on their basis. Minister Pugo."

[Dunayev] "But it was late. The cadets were already preparing for the road."

[Rudnev] And in Moscow, the resisting people gained confidence....

[Dunayev] And what confidence! Do not be hasty: The first columns of cadets had already encountered blocking detachments of the military. And the Vladimir school was surrounded by 14 BTR's [armored personnel carrier].... Everyone was ordered to stay in place. They were warned: If you come out, we will destroy you by fire.

Days without sleep. I monitor practically every kilometer of movement of the cadet columns. Chief of the Moscow militia Myrikov is counteracting at the approaches to the city. Nerves are at the breaking point, and hours are deciding everything. We urge him to clear the way and not to hinder us. He is silent. I could not contain myself, and then I yelled over the "secure line": What do you want, to spill blood; I have several hundred fighting men in my columns and they will tear your blocking detachments to shreds! Myrikov then understood the level of responsibility and opened the road to Moscow. It is at this point that Pugo's tone changes. He no longer threatens with shooting but asks to delay the columns at Moscow for three hours, and then he says he will let them through on "my own authority." But we did not believe him.

On 21 August our cadets entered Moscow exactly according to schedule. The first to arrive was the Orlovskiy school headed by Colonel Kapustyanskiy, a people's deputy of Russia. And they immediately went to the "White House" on Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya. The Ryazan school also approached. We employed the officers of this school afterwards in the most dangerous sectors. Indeed it was only with the appearance of our cadets in Moscow on 21 August that I realized that Russian authority stood its ground.

[Rudnev] Andrey Fedorovich, they say you took over an aircraft from the KGB for the Russian delegation and for freeing M. Gorbachev from captivity?

[Dunayev] It was a job. But let us talk about this another time. You see, even now my telephone is not silent.

Rutskoy on DPCR 'Splittists'

PM0909113191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[Account of interviews with Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy and V. Perfilyev, member of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia organizational committee, by Vasiliy Izgarshev: "Serving the Fatherland"—place and date not given]

[Text] This interview-reportage was prepared for the press immediately after the Russian vice president's return from Foros. But circumstances took shape in such a way that PRAVDA's publication was suspended. We met with A.V. Rutskoy once again at the extraordinary Union congress of people's deputies and I showed him the material collected back on 23 August. "Perhaps you would nonetheless like to tell PRAVDA readers about those three days?" I asked Aleksandr Vladimirovich. "That is a the editorial office's discretion. I have no objections to publication."

During those grave three days and nights which have gone down in the history of the capital and the fatherland, Aleksandr Vladimirovich was both vice president and an officer in our army. In fulfilling the instructions of the Russian president he was in fact commander of the defense of the "White House." That was how his fellow fighters spoke of him to me.

[Izgarshev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, PRAVDA was once the first newspaper to tell readers about the military airman Rutskoy, about his valor and courage, about how, having been seriously wounded in an air battle and doomed by medicine to a bedridden existence, you returned to the ranks and continued to fly and fight.... When for the second time in the Afghan sky your aircraft was hit by a foreign rocket and you yourself were first captured by the dushmans and then kept in a Pakistani prison PRAVDA again was the first to demand your liberation.

[Rutskoy] That did happen. I am grateful to PRAVDA for the warm words and comradely support. I noted that the recent events have also taught PRAVDA a lot. I read with satisfaction that it is now not the former organ of the party headquarters from Staraya Square but a general political newspaper, whose founder has been the editorial office's journalists' collective itself.

[Izgarshev] Now, incidentally, it is not the organ of the party from which you were recently expelled....

[Rutskoy] Alas, there are more than enough pieces of stupidity in our life. After all, I joined the party and have been in its ranks for over 20 years by no means merely to call myself a CPSU member. I joined in order to serve people and our fatherland with conviction, devotedly, to be as far as possible an example to others.

[Izgarshev] That is in the nature of the Rutskoys. About three years ago, after my sketch entitled "161, take-off authorized" a student of local history sent me evidence from an ancient chronicle containing lines about the "military leader Rustkoy" who headed a detachment of defenders of South Russian cities on the land of the present Kursk Oblast.

[Rutskoy] I cannot say anything about that military leader but it is a fact that my grandfather fought for the power of the soviets during the civil war and my father went through the whole Great Patriotic War from start to finish. They were party members. But I, their heir, was expelled....

[Izgarshev] For creating a new party?

[Rutskoy] Yes, but within the CPSU. Actually, I do not bear a grudge against anyone. After all the party I joined was not the one from which I was expelled. A degenerate group of partyocrats began to lord it on behalf of that party, my party. They filled the leading organs from top to bottom and gave orders to everyone "on behalf of and on instructions" from that party. At the extraordinary second congress of RSFSR people's deputies I suggested creating the "Communists for democracy" parliamentary group. Understandably, the party ruling echelons simply did not like the proposal—it was given a hostile reception and called splittist.

But the Communists of Russia, and not just Russia, thought differently. They responded with thousands and thousands of well intentioned letters. The question arose of creating an organization. How, by what means? How to elaborate its statutes and other documents? But after all it was not for the sake of paperwork that we decided to create the organization. We appealed to Communists through ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA. Tell us, comrade, is democracy necessary in our party? Discuss it in your cells and write to us. Over the course of May and June we began to receive encouraging statements from the party grassroots, as the party officials liked to call them. They approved our idea.

[Izgarshev] And you created an organizational committee?

[Rutskoy] Yes. During the campaign for the election of the Russian president when my comrades and I had to tour the republic, we were convinced of how deeply the idea of creating a Democratic Party of Communists of Russia had entered the consciousness of many party members.

[Izgarshev] But you decided to create it within the CPSU?

[Rutskoy] Frankly, we were very reluctant for orthodox party members from the leadership of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party leadership to accuse us of splittism. But after all it was clear to everyone that this Polozkov-led leadership of the recently created party had managed in a brief period to lead it into an impasse. The new situation in the country and in the republic demanded not only changes in ideological work but also changes in organizational structures. And we suggested both. But people did not listen to us and the official party press took up arms against us. PRAVDA did, too, incidentally.

[Izgarshev] And then it was decided to convene a constituent conference?

[Rutskoy] Yes, the DPCR [Democratic Party of Communists of Russia] was formed there. We were called splittists. At the plenum of the Russian Central Committee I was expelled from the Central Committee and the CPSU—illegally—before my personal case had been discussed in the primary party organization. But what do the party ruling echelons care for the law? Actually, later they also organized a kangaroo court in the primary party organization—the Air Force military-political directorate. So I found myself outside the CPSU.

After the August events, when the leadership of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party essentially acted as the accomplices of the organizers of the antipopular putsch (after all the leadership did not denounce

them, did not disavow them) we decided that the DPCR could not remain part of the CPSU. The party has now been created and officially registered. And we are all convinced that it has a future because it will serve Russia and the people and not the party nomenklatura who betrayed the people.

[Izgarshev] And now if possible, about the three days and nights which, as far as I can see, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, have added to your number of gray hairs....

[Rutskoy] What are gray hairs? Something irreparable almost happened in the life of the republic and the country. The putschists threatened much. I believe that they were only hindered by the fact that they are gray little men, dogmatists without a thought in their heads as the saying goes. Alienated from the people. They utterly failed to consider, or more likely failed to see, the fundamental changes in the life of society. In six years our man has changed out of all recognition, having gulped the air of freedom. The honor and dignity of man and citizen have acquired a new ring in our country now.

Yes, our people are still not eating their fill, are not so well or nicely dressed, and housing in not that comfortable for the majority of the population. It is particularly hard now for veterans and pensioners. They fought for the Motherland, forged the Victory in the rear, and many are now living in intolerable conditions. But we have all learned the price of freedom. And no one now can take it from us. The Muscovites, and there are thousands and thousands of them, the young people came out unarmed against the army and KGB tanks, against the machine-guns and assault rifles. And the reaction did not pass.... [Rutskoy ends]

Here I shall perhaps digress and try in the words of one of the vice president's comrades to convey the alarming situation of those three days and nights in the "White House" on the embankment. So here is Valentin Perfilyev, one of Rutskoy's fellow fighters and a DPCR activist and a member of the party's organizational committee, speaking.

[Perfilyev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich appeared at the "White House" on that day, 19 August, early in the morning.... He did not leave for three days. I was next to him almost all the time. Lipitskiy, Kozlov, Samartseva, and other activists of our party were also there. Also with us was Nikolay Sergeyevich Stolyarov, chairman of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Control Committee. His contribution to repelling the putschists' onslaught was quite considerable. Nikolay Sergeyevich liaised by telephone with the chief of general staff and had talks with Yanayev.

[Rutskoy] We did not have the right to risk people's lives. The putschists were ready to storm the RSFSR government center and take it at any price in order to capture and, as they put it, to "intern" the people's president Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and other leaders of the republic. I told Yanayev on the telephone: "Stop, desist, do not shed blood...." My friend Nikolay Stolayrov also appealed to him and the other plotters.

[Izgarshev] What did Yanayev do?

[Rutskoy] "There cannot be, there must not be, any storming" he told us both, even when the tanks were already rumbling outside the windows and shots were being heard.

[Perfilyev] Many of the comrades had no weapons. We went down to the armed fighters and asked for assault rifles. This was a serious matter. In reply we heard: "The first assault rifle to be free is yours." People were prepared to die for freedom.

[Izgarshev] Was their anxiety for their families and those close to them?

[Perfilyev] Just in case I moved the vice president's family to my mother's apartment. My mother was a frontliner and went as far as Berlin and knows about fighting from more than hearsay. Both Rutskoy's sons—Dima and Sasha—asked me to take them to their father. Actually, on the 19th both ran away from their home and appeared with us on the barricades. On 21 August their mother—Lyudmila Rutskaya—also came with them.

[Izgarshev] Did the vice president's entire family defend the "White House?"

[Perfilyev] You could say that. Aleksandr Vladimirovich himself was truly one of the main organizers of the defense. He went round the posts and talked with the defenders. We saw in him not only a statesman but also a combat commander who knew no fear. People were tiring without sleep or rest and he found words of encouragement for them.

He together with mayor Yevdokimov and Colonel General K. Kobets, the chief of staff of one of the armored battalions which came over to the side of the Russian government, primarily on instructions from the RSFSR president organized the staunch and reliable defense of the main fortress of free Russia.

[Izgarshev] Valentin Viktorovich, I was told by "Afghan" fighters that the plotters intended to take the "White House" not only by storming it with tanks but also by airborne assault force.

[Perfilyev] I had also heard that. I do not know how reliable that was—there were many rulers of all kinds. Although to tell the truth, what airborne assault could there have been—you know the airmen immediately dissociated themselves from the putschists. I shall say one thing: Throughout those days every hour, every minute was truly alarming for us. Although many thousands of the most diverse people rose to the defense of the Russian "White House."

[Izgarshev] If you can please describe the autograph in your passports.

[Perfilyev] Here is what happened. In the evening I was coming down from our fourth floor and there at the eighth entrance our guards were refusing to let M. Rostropovich into the house. How can that be, he said, I have come to defend Boris Yeltsin, I am ready to die here if necessary with everyone but they will not let me in.

We escorted the great Russian musician into our radio section and he delivered a graphic address to the defenders. He was on the barricades and stayed with us for a long time. Later, after the victory, he had a moving farewell with the Russian leaders. He left an inscription as a memento in my passport: "To my combat friend, from Slava Rostropovich, 21-22 August. "The White House...." [Perfilyev ends]

...Later, when it had already become clear that an end was about to be put to the putsch and the Russian flag above the government center was illumined by the dawn of victory, I. Silayev, A. Rutskoy, and the other comrades belonging to a delegation from the Russian parliament and government flew to the Crimea to meet the Union president. I asked Aleksandr Vladimirovich about the flight there.

[Rutskoy] The flight was memorably but I have already described it in detail on television, A. Rutskoy said. There would seem to be nothing to add.... Only please say another good word about the brave crew of our Civil Aviation TU-134 aircraft, headed by Anatoliy Nikolayevich Sukhodolskiy. About the fighters of the rescue group, and they were teachers of the Internal Affairs Ministry Ryazan higher school, who were ready to accomplish feats. About Generals Andrey Dunayev and Aleksandr Sterligov. Please also name the only woman in our group, who was no less brave than we men—Yuliya Yevgenyeva Isayeva. [Rutskoy ends]

...He once called me his friend publicly, from the television screen. I admit from the page of this newspaper that I have always, since our first meeting on Afghan soil, treasured and taken pride in our friendship, Aleksandr Vladimirovich.

While I was finishing writing this sentence, I heard that Rutskoy had been awarded the title of general. A just and worthy decision.

Newspaper's 'Special Role'

PM0609084191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Yelizaveta Leontyeva: "Rightists Are Beginning and Are They Winning at the Moment?"]

[Text] The former newspapers of the CPSU Central Committee and Moscow Gorkom [city committee]—now "independent people's" papers—are so far being bought rather briskly. They have collected themselves rapidly and found sponsors and businessmen and reregistered in a trice—and they are back to work as usual. No, not as overtly and openly as before, more craftily and subtly. When we open them we learn with surprise that the editorial office collectives have given no grounds for the suspension of these publications—here Yeltsin is undoubtedly wrong.

Do not be lazy, look carefully at the "first" issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. From "a Word to the Reader" you receive the curious information that it has always been a people's paper and not a Central Committee newspaper, has always striven to become "an independent rostrum for the expression of the people's opinion." Now the people need its protection more than ever. That means the entire people—"Communists, the millions of rural workers, workers, specialists in various spheres and sectors, and veterans and young people."

All this is proclaimed by the most cynical of newspapers which did not simply play a special part in the state coup but had long prepared it with its "manifestos," which had put pressure on youthful democracy both with its own fabrications and with specifically prepared information from the KGB—dirty denunciations and calumny.

Now, like RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, indeed, and a whole series of other "independent people's papers," it has adopted the most advantageous position: You can dismantle the barriers and create and we will defend those you have offended. They will demand that we "fling" our puny budget into all-around social guarantees and not into support for the producer.

No, I am not against the communist press—let it publish. But now when the bulwarks of the forcible interference of statized communist ideology into our lives have only just begun to collapse, we should not be indifferent to the position of its only slightly repainted servants. Then the main thing: The newspaper itself is one thing but its printing and material base are another. Who seized the best sectors, the best premises throughout the country? Who received on preferential terms paper, equipment, transport, and comforts others did not even dream of? Who paid no taxes for decades? The party publishing houses. The party newspapers.

Now alarm calls are coming in from every corner of the country about the rapid self-privatization of the party publications' property. The selfsame property which is now to be nationalized and which the state should dispose of. What is this—the inertia of the executive organs, their connivance, or excessive concern with more important matters? In any case this problem now requires the closest attention.

Kronshtadt Supported Democracy

LD0809230391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Text] Revolt in Kronshtadt during the days of the putsch and after—Yevgeniy Gurinskiy in St. Petersburg has the details:

[Gurinskiy] During the putsch in the USSR the leadership of the closed military island of Kronshtadt near St. Petersburg forbade the distribution of the decrees of the SCSE among the sailors and officers. This has been reported by representatives of the administration of the island. According to them, control over the functioning of the Kronshtadt garrison was implemented by the head of the garrison, the head of the local administration, and Father Vladislav, the superior of the Vladimir Cathedral of Kronshtadt. They maintained around-the-clock observation of the situation in the region, and also worked out, in conjuction with the Leningrad Soviet, a plan for the emergency evacuation to Kronshtadt of the heads of the Leningrad Soviet and the Municipality should the Mariinskiy Palace be stormed. They were to be transported on speed boats.

The officers of the garrison also said that after the junta was overthrown a large number of sailors decided to leave the CPSU, and (?actually) decided to be christened in the Kronshtadt cathedral. The sailors also expressed the desire for regular sermons by priests on board ship. They decided to restore, through their own efforts, the Vladimir Cathedral in Kronshtadt. The Kronshtadt sailors have sent 23,000 rubles from the party subscription fund to restore the cathedral. The fund itself, along with the Kronshtadt CPSU organization, has been consigned to oblivion.

From what I have seen the island is truly being transformed. People are cleansing themselves spiritually. The tricolour Russian flag is flying over the buildings. Free publications are on sale in the news stands. In a word, Kronshtadt is (?strictly) leaving its past behind, its past as a secret, militarized island, enmeshed in a web of communist propaganda under the careful eye of the Cheka.

Bashkir Resolution Condemns Coup

PM0809133391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report by M. Merzabekov: "They Did Not Succumb to the Rally Atmosphere"]

[Text] Ufa—Those days in August in Ufa are sad memories; on the face of it all was calm. Passions began to flare up later on. "Heroes" were found who began to fan the flames after the fire had already been extinguished.

So an extraordinary session of the Bashkir SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet took place which discussed the question of "the situation in the republic and the implementation of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of 23 August 1991 'On the Activities of the RSFSR Soviets of People's Deputies During the Coup d'Etat.'" M. Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet, gave a report.

The session adopted a decision which condemns the coup d'etat carried out 19-21 August as an unconstitutional act directed against democracy. Gratitude was expressed to the inhabitants of Moscow, to RSFSR people's deputies, and to Russian President B.N. Yeltsin for the courage, firmness, and resoluteness of their actions during the putsch. The resolution notes that the actions and decisions of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers in these circumstances conform to the demands of the constitutions and laws of the USSR, RSFSR, Bashkir SSR, and the decrees of the Russian president published during the period of the coup d'etat. The republic's legislative and executive authorities directed their efforts during these days toward maintaining a stable social and political situation and toward ensuring the national economy's steady functioning and conditions for the population's vital activity. The lawfully elected authorities were active in the republic. They did not adopt the instructions and orders of the State Committee for the State of Emergency in the USSR for implementation.

The session entrusted the Bashkir SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to speed up work on elaborating the Federal Treaty with the RSFSR. The resolution has a separate paragraph banning public organizations from carrying out "independent" investigations of local organs' work during the days of the putsch or of this or that person's conduct.

Changes in St Petersburg

PM0909115591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent Yuriy Kukanov under the "Before and After the Putsch" rubric: "Sobchak Moves to the Smolnyy"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—When Tyulkin, secretary of the Communist Initiative Movement Organizing Bureau, utters the expression "witch-hunt," I am prepared to take the first element literally, for I had the pleasure of attending the April sabbath of the movement's members in Leningrad. Incidentally, they intend to hold their next coven on Bald Mountain in Yekaterinburg at the end of November. The matter, as is now coming to light, does not depend on very much: It is necessary to enlist just some support from the people, who have today been deprived of "mind, honor, and conscience."

Meanwhile, many people perceive the call not to mount a "witch-hunt"—a call which has swept through the country—as a salutary indulgence and have no wish at all to discuss this ticklish subject. B. Gidaspov, member of the commission for the state of emergency and former first secretary of the former Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee, who showed extreme amazement and bewilderment when Yu. Karyakin put questions to him from the rostrum of the Fifth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies, behaves as though nothing has happened. Gidaspov declared that he does not know,

and has no intention of finding out, who enrolled him on this commission or in what way. It would be interesting to find out who are the naive simpletons for whom this more than strange explanation is designed. For it comes from a man invested with the highest state power (a USSR people's deputy and chairman of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission) and party power (at the time of the putsch, a member of the CPSU Central Committee). Incidentally, Oblast Soviet Chairman Yu. Yarov and the city's Vice Mayor V. Shcherbakov, who were "enrolled" on the very same commission, categorically refused to remain on it and resolutely dissociated themselves from the putschists.

It is not clear who ordered the introduction of press censorship 19 August. Will Lavruk, censor of the district military newspaper NA STRAZHE RODINY, and his chief General P. trov, who grossly violated the Law on the Press, bear responsibility? Despite the fact that a state of emergency was not introduced in the city, the jackboots of military censorship strode wholeheartedly about the evening newspaper: Its 19 August issue with blank spaces has already become a collectors' item.

In short, the putsch has been crushed, but many questions remain. Who will answer them? In any case, not City Prosecutor Verevkin. Having faithfully served justice Smolnyy-style, he seems to have no intention of putting them to anyone. All hope rests with the deputies' commission to investigate the circumstances of the coup on the city's territory. Despite a statement by Mayor A. Sobchak on the commission's illegality, the deputies intend to continue the work. As B. Moiseyev, deputy chairman of Leningrad City Soviet and chairman of the deputies' investigative commission, reported at a news conference, it is proposed to make public the results of the work at a city soviet session scheduled for 30 September.

The session, incidentally, will be held for the last time in the Mariinskiy Palace: The restoration and repair of the premises which will, in time, house museum exhibits, can be postponed no longer. The question of where Leningrad City Soviet will move to—the Taurida Palace or the former House of Political Education—is still being debated, but the mayor's office has decided to move to the Smolnyy. Quite honestly, I do not find very convincing the argument that precisely this building is the most modern management complex today. It only remains for Sobchak to occupy Gidaspov's office, and the symbolic circle will be closed up. Maybe I am wrong, but somehow this symbolism is not to my liking.

The city has calculated the losses from the putsch. St. Petersburg has to present the self-styled Soviet leadership with a bill for 2.9 million rubles: Production losses from strikes and rallies, the construction and dismantling of barricades, freight ships held up by bridges not swung open. It is known that the schedule was disrupted on the critical night of 20-21 August so that city people could get to the Mariinskiy Palace. A national guard is now being formed from among its defenders.

The wave of wholesale sovereignization of the Communist press which has swept the country is ending in a complete volte-face. LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, which was categorically opposed to the reinstatement of the city's historical name, is now called SANKT-PETERBURGSKIYE VEDOMOSTI. The weekly LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY, which was close to the ideology of the initiative movement within the CPSU and whose editors gnashed their teeth at the single word "market," intends to work henceforth in the field of propagandizing the new economy. Good luck, as the saying goes, only all this is sad and funny. Will society gain much by getting new publications whose editorial collectives have overnight, as though at a command, swapped their principles for the direct opposite ones? Would it not make more sense, after placing the former Communist publications under equal economic conditions with others, for journalists to retain the right to set forth the convictions which they have professed all their life? As regards all sorts of obscenities, in which a newspaper like SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA abounded, there is, after all, a law for this....

Journalists Under Interrogation in Omsk

LD1009090991 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Petrov]

[Text] Omsk, September 9 TASS—Despite warnings by Russian Federation Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov, the hunt for witches is picking up steam, it seems. In order to determine the loyalty or disloyalty of officials in state, public and other bodies during the state coup, the presidium of the Omsk city council has set up a special commission, whose first move was to find culprits among journalists in the OMSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNIY OMSK newspapers.

Journalists in both newspapers had dismissed their editors-in-chief long ago and the newspapers now have new sponsors. This seemed not enough for bloodthirsty commission members.

Brandishing long questionnaires, they interrogated correspondents and new newspaper managers for six hours in a row, digging up information for a subsequent "legal" assessment of their actions. Journalists qualified this as a syndrome of the year of 1937, a blatant offensive against freedom of speech and persecution for dissent.

Belorussia

Kravchenko: Chernobyl Aid Policy 'Mockery'

OW0909203991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belorussia's Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko has told IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent that "the Union is falling apart and leaving Belorussia tete-a-tete with Chernobyl." According to Mr. Kravchenko, in the first half of this year Russia received 56 percent, the Ukraine 25 percent, Lithuania 6.0 percent and Belorussia only 5.8 percent of all medicines purchased from foreign countries for hard currency, although "a fifth of Belorussia's territory is covered with radioactive ashes."

Mr. Kravchenko described such a policy as "mockery at the republic which suffered the most from the Chernobyl disaster." He said the Belorussian delegation to the United Nations would address the next session of the UN General Assembly to attract world public attention to the package of Chernobyl-related problems.

Ukraine

French Finance Minister Arrives for Talks

LD0809065491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] Pierre Beregovoy, minister of state for economy, finance, and budget of France, arrived in Kiev today. The official agenda for his visit includes meetings with Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, and Prime Minister Fokin. It is understood that economic aid from France is the focus of attention at the negotiations.

Mr. Beregovoy expressed the French Government's uncertainty about the development of the situation in the Ukraine. The minister is especially worried about what guarantees the Ukraine can give to Western investors.

Kravchuk spoke about measures that have just been taken to protect foreign investments. As for establishing direct economic contacts between the Ukraine and France, this is still a matter for the future, but maybe the near future.

Envoy to UN on Soviet Property, Nuclear Weapons

OW0609191791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1532 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian ambassador in the United Nations Gennadiy Udovenko said his republic counted on 25 percent of all Soviet property abroad.

He also said the Ukraine intends to rid itself of all nuclear weapons on its territory, but a commission of experts would have to decide whether these must be scrapped or transferred to the Soviet Union.

The ambassador also spoke of the Ukraine's plan to establish diplomatic relations with the United States, Canada, Israel, and its neighbours.

Deputy Favors Destroying Nuclear Weapons

LD0809220591 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] In connection with a new political situation that has taken shape around the future union and the development of sovereign states, the issue of the future of nuclear weapons situated on the territory of various republics is being energetically discussed in the Western press. As is known, the Ukraine Supreme Soviet came out in favor of the republic's nonnuclear status a year ago. However, how will the future of the nuclear weapons situated on the republic's territory be settled specifically? Here is the view of Dmytro Pavlychko, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission for Foreign Affairs.

[Pavlychko] We will obviously be discussing two variants. The first one is to put all nuclear weapons at the collective defense body's disposal, i.e. a joint headquarters of armies of independent states that are rising from the present-day republics. In other words, this weaponry should be put under Russia's command. The second variant is to create an international commission that will come to the Ukraine and register all atomic stations, and the Ukraine, as a member of the United Nations and a nuclear state, will come out with a proposal to completely destroy the weaponry situated on its territory. I tend to think that it is exactly what we should do. We should outlaw this weaponry without taking it anywhere and destroy it where it is located at present. I think that this second option will win. I would not like to anticipate events, but I think that the Ministry of Defense, which is being created, will take this position. Ukraine does not need atomic weaponry, it will have [words indistinct]. Today the talk is about how to get rid of it.

Green Party Wants Nuclear Arsenals Scrapped

OW0909211191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kiev chapter of the Ukrainian "Green Party" has urged the republic's parliament to immediately adopt a program to scrap the Ukrainian-based nuclear arsenals under the control of international experts.

The "Greens" are also demanding the dismantlement in the Ukraine of all the strategic military bases and superpowerful radar stations, an end to the KGB activity, and

the return home of young Ukrainians doing their military service outside the republic.

Election Commission Registers 23 Candidates

LD0709051391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 5 Sep 91

[Text] Today a commission for the elections of the president of Ukraine and holding an all-Ukrainian referendum on 1 December held its sitting in Kiev. The referendum is supposed to reveal the attitude of the citizens of Ukraine towards the act of Ukraine's independence proclaimed by the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

Today there are 23 candidates to run for presidency in Ukraine, among them: Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of Ukraine Supreme Soviet; Vyacheslav Chernovil, chairman of the Lvov Soviet of People's Deputies; Yuriy Shcherbak, minister of Ukraine's environment protection; Volodymyr Shynskyy, member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party; and others.

Among the 14 political parties, public organizations, and movements which have the right to nominate candidates for the Ukraine's presidency, there is no Communist Party of Ukraine. This is why Radio Kiev's reporter asked Valentyn Kernenko, member of the election commission, if the former communists have the right to nominate their representatives or nominate themselves to run in presidential elections.

[Kernenko in Russian, fading into English translation] On 23 August, we registered the Communist Party's right to nominate the candidate, but after that party was outlawed by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. We have abrogated this document. As for the members of the Central Committee or former Communist Party members, they can be nominated by any group of people or by themselves, said Valentyn Kernenko.

It was decided to set up a centralized fund of 80 million rubles for the preparation and holding of the presidential elections in Ukraine. The elections are due to take place on 1 December this year.

Internal Affairs Official on Jurisdiction Transfer

LD0809070791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Interview with Volodymyr Mykhaylovych Korniychuk, Ukraine first deputy minister of internal affairs, by Radio Kiev correspondent Oksana Svystun; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Svystun] What does the transfer of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the jurisdiction of the Ukraine mean to you?

[Korniychuk, in Russian] We are ready for it. We have already submitted all the documents to the Cabinet of Ministers. Even before 19 August we made a proposal that internal troops be Ukrainian, that we should have supplies from the Ukraine, that we should receive salaries and pensions in the Ukraine, from the Ukrainian people, so that Ukrainian taxpayers can know how much their militia costs. The militia would work better, because people would be ashamed to work poorly in front of the people earning the money to pay them. We are almost ready to work in the Ukraine just as they do in all other civilized countries. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Issues Appeal to Servicemen

PM1009080991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

["Our Correspondent" report: "Appeal to Servicemen"]

[Text] Kiev—The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted an appeal to servicemen of units and formations stationed on the republic's territory and outside it.

The appeal urges servicemen to continue to perform their military service, to steadfastly observe calm, military organization, firm regulation order, and military discipline, and not to arbitrarily leave their military units or permit other destabilizing actions.

The Ukrainian leadership, the appeal says, is adopting practical measures to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of all servicemen and is working to prepare draft laws on their social and legal protection, regardless of nationality. The material position of servicemen and members of their families will be protected by the Supreme Soviet and government of the Ukraine. All legitimate benefits, pensions, and grants previously enjoyed by servicemen and their families are guaranteed.

The Supreme Soviet and government of the Ukraine guarantee the observance of the rights of all servicemen and members of their families regardless of nationality, language, religious persuasion, or political convictions.

The Supreme Soviet and government of the Ukraine, the appeal stresses, considered and will continue to consider it their duty to help to strengthen the defense capability of the state and the use of the Armed Forces exclusively for the state's defense and not for the solution of internal political problems. Everything will be done to revive the prestige of the Army and create the conditions for military service.

Communist Supreme Soviet Group Disbands

LD0609165291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1155 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] The Communist majority group in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has announced that it is to disband itself.

Foreign Minister Views Prospects of Independence

AU0909124391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko by Piotr Koscinski; place and date not given: "Independence Is the Most Important Thing"]

[Text] [Koscinski] What position and role does the Ukraine's foreign policy occupy in the current situation?

[Zlenko] The Ukraine is striving toward independence, and its foreign policy must be tailored to that end. It is a question of creating new foundations and in some cases, of establishing active relations with other states. We attach the greatest importance to relations with our neighbors, including Poland; to states in which there are Ukrainian emigre communities; and to the industrialized Western states—cooperation with them is of great significance for the Ukraine's economy. In addition, there is a group of states—Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria—with which we have links by virtue of the Black Sea and the Danube. We are also taking note of such special states as the Vatican—as a state, and not as the center of the Roman Catholic Church—and Israel, as the majority of Jewish emigres from the USSR come from the Ukraine.

We are not only interested in bilateral relations. We are also according attention to the Ukraine's inclusion in various European structures. It is a long process, but one based on our overall strategy. At the moment, we are in a transition period. The disintegration of the Soviet Union is under way. The problem is how we will make use of the attributes of independence during this period.

[Koscinski] What tasks do you consider to be the most pressing?

[Zlenko] First, the recognition of Ukrainian independence. Second, the attainment of a consensus among European states with regard to our country. Third, although this is perhaps the most important thing, solving our internal problems and creating future political structures.

We are also giving thought to collective security issues. This is something that the present situation compels us to think about, despite the fact that the Ukraine has announced that it intends to become a neutral state and will not produce, possess, or deploy nuclear weapons on its territory. However, we have to think about what should be done with the armed forces and weapons on Ukrainian territory, and about how we should free ourselves from this potential within the context of our aspirations for neutrality. Control mechanisms have to be created in connection with the deployment of these forces— perhaps foreign observers should be involved.

[Koscinski] What significance does the Ukraine attach to participation in this year's session of the United Nations General Assembly?

[Zlenko] The situation at the beginning of the 46th session is completely different from the one at the beginning of the 45th session. We will attend the session with a mandate from an independent state. This gives us a right to participate in a broader range of UN organs.

[Koscinski] What kind of links do you think will emerge between the federation or confederation that will replace the USSR and the independent republics that will be part of such a framework?

[Zlenko] Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, has talked about this. Our starting point is an independent, sovereign state. That is why one can only talk about a conference. At the same time, we realize that there is a need to establish an economic zone that will not link republics, but independent states. The joint communique with Russia that was signed on 29 August strengthens such hopes. We proposed holding a conference for all the sovereign states. The Ukraine is prepared to be one of the organizers of such a conference. We would like the conference to result in the signing of an economic agreement.

[Koscinski] Your visit to Poland will be your first mission following the declaration of the act of independence. What do you expect from the visit?

[Zlenko] Above all, it is necessary to develop friendly, good-neighborly relations. We should formulate a joint approach to many international problems. I would like to exchange views on Polish and Ukrainian participation in the United Nations and other international organizations. For example, a Ministry of Foreign Trade has been established, and there is a minister and deputy minister, but no apparatus. There is an Economics Ministry, but is in the process of being reorganized.

[Koscinski] There is a Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Kiev. Do you want to establish a representation for the Ukraine in Warsaw, an information bureau, for example?

[Zlenko] An information bureau is no longer enough. We have already held talks on establishing a consulate general in Poland. We are drawing up a consular convention. It will provide the legal basis for establishing a consulate.

Crimean Soviet Dismisses Presidium, Backs Leader

PM0909134191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled Mikhail Bakharev report under the "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] Simferopol—An extraordinary session of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has dismissed the whole Supreme Soviet

Presidium except for its chairman, N. Bagrov. Confidence in N. Bagrov was reaffirmed in a roll call vote by 134 out of 174 deputies. A new Supreme Soviet Presidium was elected.

New Weekly Newspaper Established

LD0709173591 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 6 Sep 91

[Text] Today the first issue of the weekly (?ZA HIDNA UKRAINA), that's (?LAST ON THE UKRAINE), was immediately sold out in the news kiosks of Ternopol, Lvov, and Ivano-Frankovsk region. The new publication is a collective organ of the deputy corps of the three mentioned regions.

The newspaper will be published by the powerful publishing house (?Zbryuch) in Ternopol, which prior to this belonged to the Communist Party of Ukraine, which has been recently banned here in our republic.

Ternopol Oblast Takes Over TV, Radio Committee

LD0709221691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 91

[Text] The Ternopol Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has declared that it has taken under its own jurisdiction the oblast television and radio committee. This is the first instance in the Ukraine of an oblast taking control of a local television and radio airwaves. However, the move contravenes a decree of the republic's Cabinet of Ministers, which states that all local television and radio divisions now belong to the republic .

Moldova

KGB Abolished; Ministry of Security Established

OW1009124691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moldovan KGB has been abolished and a Ministry of National Security established under a decree issued by Mircha Snegur, president of Moldova.

Moldovan People's Deputy Anatol Plugaru has been appointed minister of security.

"All property, buildings, arms and other material resources belong to Moldova and are transferred to the Ministry of National Security", the decree says.

Snegur: Republic Determined To Establish Army

OW0909203591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan President Mircha Snegur has addressed the people over republican TV to assure them that "we will form a national army however much this may cost us." He urged Soviet Army officers born in Moldova to join in that work.

Mr. Snegur described the blockade of railways by women activists in the Dnestr republic as a "deliberate tension-whipping action," and reaffirmed the Moldovan parliament and government's resolve to settle disputes through compromise. "Of the 500,000 Russians living in Moldova, four-fifths understand the problems facing the republic, and are willing to help," Mr. Snegur said.

Supreme Soviet To Publish Russian Daily

LD1009090891 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev September 9 TASS—The Moldavian parliament has decided to found a new Russian daily, NEZAVISIMAYA MOLDOVA (INDEPENDENT MOLDAVIA), the MOLDOVA-PRES News Agency reports.

The newspaper will be an organ of the Moldavian parliament and government. It will take over the printing facilities and premises of the former communist SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA.

Yelena Zamura has been appointed editor-in-chief of the new daily.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia Views Future of Union

AU1009130191 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 31 Aug 91 p 1

[Interview with Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Stefan Tolz, "West German 'Cologne' TV first program correspondent": place and date not given; "We Believe in Help and Support"]

[Text] [Tolz] What is your opinion of the new situation in the Soviet Union?

[Gamsakhurdia] The Soviet Union no longer exists. The empire is falling apart. Gorbachev and those surrounding him are doing their best to preserve this Union, at least in some form. Unfortunately, they are assisted in this by the governments of leading Western countries. This is attested to by Bush's statements and by Major's visit to the USSR; this is very sad.... They do not want to believe that Gorbachev is a political corpse and want to revive him. However, these attempts are doomed, because this revival is impossible. Independent and sovereign states will soon emerge in place of the Soviet Union. The sooner the West begins to promote this, the better....

[Tolz] Therefore, Gorbachev is a corpse?

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, a political corpse. Yesterday, in Moscow, at the Supreme Soviet session, one deputy directly stated that Gorbachev's rating equals zero.

[Tolz] Gorbachev promoted the holding of multiparty elections in Georgia as a result of which the Communist Party ceased to be a ruling one in Georgia. How do you assess this fact?

[Gamsakhurdia] This is not Gorbachev's contribution, but that of our movement, our struggle, and also of the strong Western support for our movement and the strong pressure exerted upon Gorbachev who was forced to start liberalization in the USSR.

[Tolz] What did you personally do on the days of the putsch between 19 and 21 August?

[Gamsakhurdia] I personally stayed here round-the-clock waiting for an attack.... However, the failure of the operation in Moscow prevented them from attacking us. On the same day, I sent an address to governments of Western countries in which I called this putsch a victory of reactionary forces, and demanded that all presidents and parliaments elected by the people be protected and that our states be recognized diplomatically....

[Tolz] It was quiet in Tbilisi on those days....

[Gamsakhurdia] I called upon the population to maintain calm, because I wanted to avoid an attack by the military. They were ready.... Yazov's deputy arrived here and he directly threatened us with intervention.

[Tolz] What would you personally have done if the parliament building had been attacked?

[Gamsakhurdia] We would not have surrendered alive....

[Tolz] Does that mean that you would have sacrificed yourself and would thereby have saved all the others?

[Gamsakhurdia] All of us who were in the parliament building did not call the people and did not call upon them to help us, but took everything upon ourselves....

[Tolz] It was in that critical situation that the problem of rescuing the National Guard arose....

[Gamsakhurdia] Yes, the reactionaries in Moscow and in the center spread gossip to the effect that we had disbanded the National Guard. This is a lie. In reality, I temporarily gave the National Guard the status of militia that was necessary for its salvation. The guard was not disbanded and it still exists. On the contrary, the State department for Defense was created, and everything remains in its place.

[Tolz] The Baltic republics have already been recognized by Western countries. What is Georgia going to do in order to be recognized by the countries of the world?

[Gamsakhurdia] Georgia has already been recognized by Romania and Moldova and, perhaps, it will soon be recognized by other countries, as well. We are making every effort to bring about the recognition of Georgia by Western countries and by other leading states of the world.

[Tolz] You stated that the future U.S. ambassador is already studying the Georgian language. What must Georgia do in order to be recognized by America and Germany?

[Gamsakhurdia] We will, certainly, send an appeal for the recognition of Georgia to the governments of the United States and Germany.

[Tolz] How do you envisage future economic relations with the United States and with the West? Will there be economic ties with them? Or will they be established with the Soviet Union?

[Gamsakhurdia] We will have economic cooperation with all those countries that wish to establish them and will maintain them on the terms of equality and mutual advantage....

[Tolz] So far, Georgia has not achieved economic independence....

[Gamsakhurdia] No, it has not. However, we are gradually advancing toward economic independence.

[Tolz] Once you are independent, on whom will you rely more—on the West or on the USSR?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, we pin more of our hopes upon the West. When this so-called Soviet Union disappears, there will no longer be fear, and the ties will be established freely.... So far, Western countries are afraid of the USSR and, for that reason, do not want to establish mutual relations with Georgia. In the future, everything is going to be different.

[Tolz] Aren't you afraid of the time when Gorbachev resigns and the empire collapses?

[Gamsakhurdia] Of course, I want to see a situation in which there is no center and no Gorbachev, and every republic achieves independence. This is our desire and we are struggling for this, for the achievement of our independence....

[Tolz] Many Georgians often speak about freedom. What does freedom mean to you?

[Gamsakhurdia] Freedom is our goal and we are struggling to achieve it. We have no borders of our own, no army of our own, and no money of our own. Moscow intervenes in everything. When we gain freedom, we will possess all characteristics of statehood.

[Tolz] What will be Georgia's further steps toward freedom and how will privatization take effect?

[Gamsakhurdia] The implementation of all reforms will continue in Georgia. It will involve privatization, private entrepreneurship, the creation of our own money, our own customhouses, and our own army.

[Tolz] There is no talk of the Union treaty any more. In your opinion, is the existence of the Union possible?

[Gamsakhurdia] We are not interested in the "nine plus one." In our opinion, it is "zero plus zero," and not "nine plus one." Nothing will come out of this, and there will be no Union. I am deeply convinced of this and we cannot have anything in common with it.

[Tolz] I ask you to say a few words, how would the Georgian president address the Germans?

[Gamsakhurdia] I thank the peoples of Western countries. We pin our hopes in particular on the Germans. We believe that they will help us and will support us in our struggle for independence and freedom.

[Tolz] Do you believe that you will be president of an independent Georgia?

[Gamsakhurdia] By all means....

[Tolz] Thank you....

Reportage on Political Situation in Republic

Gamsakhurdia Admits Situation 'Tense'

AU1009092491 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Yesterday, a joint session of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Presidium and Cabinet of Ministers took place.

The session was opened by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. He gave a review of the political situation that has been created in the republic and stated that the recent actions in Tbilisi had made the situation extremely tense, that enemies are skillfully taking advantage of the situation that has been created, and that the Union mass media are continuing to spread disinformation which, unfortunately, is helping the representatives of the so-called opposition.

Akaki Asatiani, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council, gave his views to the participants of the session regarding (?his recent) visit to Moscow, [words indistinct] questions concerning future relations with the Soviet Union and the other republics.

Georgian Prime Minister Vissarion Gugushvili spoke at the session about the new economic concept.

The chairmen of the Republic of Georgia Permanent Commissions and the heads of the republic's ministries and departments also participated in the session.

'Growing' Confrontation Discussed

LD1009145891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1112 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] The political confrontation is growing in Georgia. Here is my colleague, commentator Aleksandr Zelenkov:

[Zelenkov] It looks as if the Republic is speeding toward a state of civil war. The opposition is holding rallies and other events demanding the resignation of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. The president calls the opposition agents of the Kremlin and enemies of the people. Georgia's National Guard is split—part of it supports Gamsakhurdia; the other, greater part is on the side of the opposition. Kitovani, commander of the Georgian National Guard, who has been replaced upon Gamsakhurdia's instructions but does not recognize that dismissal, has stated that if the authorities resort to violence against the opposition, then the Guard reserves the right to act in rep'y.

Last night there was a rally outside Government House in Tbilisi, organized by supporters of Gamsakhurdia. Dzurab Dvali reports from Tbilisi:

[Begin Dvali recording] President Gamsakhurdia spoke at the meeting, calling for forces to rally around the government and give a rebuff to the enemies of the motherland. Representatives of a number of opposition parties, headed by their leaders Irakli Tsereteli and

Georgiy Chanturia, attended the rally. They chanted "Ceausescu" and "Judas," trying to wreck the meeting. Of all those who spoke, the greatest impression was made by Yevdokimov, chairman of the emigree department of the international association for human rights of the Helsinki Union. He condemned the 2 September actions of the government, saying that no aim could justify an armed confrontation with demonstrators which involved human casualties. Official confirmation was also given at the meeting that the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Georgia had been formed, with Nodar Giorgadze, chairman of the Afghan Veterans of Georgia Society, as minister. The rally ended with this. This is Dzurab Dvali of the (?IPRINTA) news agency, especially for the Radio Rossii news service. [end recording]

[Zelenkov] The harsh, authoritarian methods of President Gamsakhurdia's rule appear to be at the root of the extreme exacerbation of the situation in Georgia. The Republic, having barely disposed of the communist regime, has come dangerously close to a new totalitarianism. The normalization of the situation depends primarily on Georgia's leadership; will it manage to give up a search for enemies of the people, with its inflammation of hostility and hatred in society? Will democratic rights and freedoms be ensured in the Republic? The alternative to this is an intensification of confrontation and, possibly, violence. The consequences of such a development of events could be very tragic.

Events Approach 'Dangerous Line'

LD0909224391 Moscow Russian Television Service in Russian 2000 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Georgia—where events have approached a dangerous line beyond which is civil war—was at the center of attention today. Meetings of the opposition demanding the resignation of President Gamsakhurdia, dissolution of the parliament, and new elections continued in Tbilisi. Gamsakhurdia's supporters have also held a meeting at which the president declared Tengiz Ketovani, the commander in chief of the rebellious national guard, the enemy of the Georgian people. [passage omitted]

Gamsakhurdia's explanation of events in Georgia is that they are the result of intrigues by Moscow agents. Our correspondent failed to obtain any reasonable explanation of these events in the Georgian mission.

[Begin recording] [K. Lomaya, acting permanent representative in Moscow of the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers—captioned] We condemned the violence which took place during the meetings. We called for a special commission to be set up to investigate these events. This position was also confirmed by Gamsakhurdia, the president of Georgia, who spoke at a meeting the day before yesterday. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Now the most alarming report we received today: According to unconfirmed reports, the entire Georgian militia has been mobilized to attack this very night, at 0400 in the morning, units of the national guard which refuse to place themselves under President Gamsakhurdia's authority. [passage omitted]

Russian TV Reports on 'Powder Keg'

LD0909033491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In Georgia, President Gamsakhurdia has spoken at a meeting in Tbilisi. Here are a few words from his speech: The enemies plan to disrupt our fight for independence. The hellish machine of the Kremlin has started up with the assistance of Georgian traitors who have settled in Moscow. I call on the Georgian people to rise up in order to destroy these traitors. We will punish everyone who is guilty of the shameful actions on 2 September. This is Georgia's shame, and this has hampered recognition of our independence.

Our correspondent returned from Georgia today.

[Begin reporter E. Dhafarov recording] The capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, is today reminiscent of a powder keg. It is not surprising that the situation that has developed is being compared with Romania in 1989. There are unending meetings and processions of demonstrators demanding the resignation of President Gamsakhurdia. [video shows street demonstrations, chanting crowds, people climbing over walls, people picketing buildings, shots of men in uniform]

It is now several days since pickets, [words indistinct] a group of individuals appeared on Prospekt Rustaveli, and declared a hunger strike in protest. Every day as night approaches rumors circulate about possible reprisals against the picketers, but so far [words indistinct].

It is becoming increasingly difficult to pacify the feelings of the demonstrators. The danger of a clash between the supporters and opponents of Gamsakhurdia, separated by a cordon of buses, arises more and more frequently.

Another flare-up of the confrontation in South Ossetia is acting like a lightning rod. However, manipulating them will not succeed, and the Democratic Party is not planning to retreat.

The National Guard has returned to its base, but all appears lost for the president in this regard. The guard is seriously intent on acting on the side of the people.

Many leaders of the Democratic Party of Georgia feel that it is necessary to abolish the post of president, but, if necessary, to name former Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua as a potential candidate for the post of president. Incidentally, the number of fallen and former around the president is growing. [end recording]

Protesters Ordered Arrested

LD0909185491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1830 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] The situation in Tbilisi is deteriorating. According to sources in the National Democratic Party of Georgia [NPDG], President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has issued a decree, timed for 0400 on 10 September, to arrest NDPG activists and participants in a protest rally. An INTERFAX correspondent reports that on Rustaveli Square in Tbilisi, the current scene of an opposition rally, the situation is far from calm. OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] units are amassing around the square.

'Alarming Reports' From South Ossetia

LD0909204691 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz September 9 TASS—Alarming reports came from South Ossetia today. Georgian militants pounded Tskhinvali and its environs with large-calibre machine-guns, grenade launchers and missiles during the past 24 hours.

The fire came from the side of Zemo-Nikozi village, which is outside the area under the state of emergency, and also from the environs of Tamarasheni and Eredvi villages. The attack caused heavy injuries among city residents.

According to reports by the South-Ossetian socio-political organisation Rukhs, all main roads on the territory of the autonomous region are controlled by armed militants, which complicates the delivery of food, medicines and fuel to Tskhinvali.

Cases of militants beating local residents, taking some of them hostage and seizing motor vehicles have become more frequent in remote Ossetian villages of the Tskhinvali and Znauri districts. Six Ossetians were taken hostage on the Znauri-Tskhinvali highway last night. The lot of 28 passengers of a bus that ran from Tskhinvali to Abrevi village is unclear until now. They were taken in an unknown destination.

The sharp confrontation between the Ossetian and Georgian sides heightened after Georgia's chief prosecutor signed a warrant for the arrest of several leaders of the autonomous region. They are accused of kindling an ethnic conflict between the Georgian and Ossetian peoples. Current events in Tbilisi, where the opposition demands an immediate resignation of Zviad Gamsakhurdiya also heat up the socio-political situation.

Developments in Transcaucasus are reported to affect the situation in North Ossetia. The flow of refugees from Tskhinvali, other areas of South Ossetia and also from Georgian cities to Vladikavkaz, where emergency regulations enacted by the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the North-Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic are in force, has swelled anew. The number of refugees now reaches 80,000. The provision of housing and jobs to them is a serious problem.

Bridge Destroyed in Tskhinvali Region

OW0909152091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tensions in South Ossetia remain high. On Sunday unidentified persons exploded a bridge in the Georgian-populated village of Kekhvi in Tskhinvali region.

The same day a column of 3 buses with Georgian passengers was fired at outside Tskhinvali. USSR Interior Ministry troops accompanying it opened return fire. According to estimates, there were no casualties.

Friday night unidentified persons set fire to the home of Tskhinvali's police chief. Last night sporadic shots from hunting rifles and automatic weapons sounded in the administrative center.

RSFSR Committees Concerned

LD0909144891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 9 Sep 91

["Statement by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Committees on Situation in Georgia"—headline]

[Text] Moscow, 9 Sep (TASS)—We are concerned that the processes recently under way in the Republic of Georgia, including the territories of Abakhazia and South Ossetia, and in recent days in Tbilisi too, do not fall within the range of civilized concepts on the need to observe human rights, including the rights of ethnic minorities and guarantees of those rights. It is especially sad that those events are taking place against the background of and in the anticipation of representative international forums due to take place in Moscow on human rights, and the initiative by the president of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan on the need to conclude an interstate convention on guarantees for the rights of ethnic minorities. We are especially concerned that Georgian President Gamsakhurdia does not always treat the name and the authority of RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin with respect.

We consider it our duty to recall that issues of the observance of guarantees of human rights in accordance with the norms of international law are not the internal affair of one or another state, and our statement, consequently, cannot be interpreted in the first place as interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Georgia—whose sovereignty we unquestionably respect.

Moreover, by virtue of the particular geographical situation, the violation of the rights of the minorities in the

Republic of Georgia complicates the internal situation in the contiguous territories of the RSFSR. At the same time, such actions from the very beginning also have a distinctly pronounced interstate aspect.

We propose that for an improvement in the human rights situation it would be expedient to establish permanent observation posts for deputies of the RSFSR and USSR, chosen from the RSFSR, and deputies from the Republic of Georgia—following the example of analogous structures already set up in a number of rayons of the Azerbaijani republic. If there is a further worsening in the situation the issue of the introduction of a state of emergency regime in all zones of conflict should be considered.

[Signed] RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Human Rights;

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Subcommittee for Interrepublican Relations;

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs

Supporters, Opponents of Gamsakhurdia Rally

AU1009072091 Paris AFP in English 0622 GMT 10 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sep 10 (AFP)—Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia called on a rally of his supporters Monday to "neutralise" opponents of his policies, local journalists contacted by telephone said.

The rally was held simultaneously with and adjacent to another rally by opponents of the Georgian leader who chanted "Ceaucescu, Ceaucescu", comparing Gamsakhurdia with the late Romanian dictator.

Both rallies, held on Tbilisi's central Rustaveli street, were attended by more than 10,000 people, the journalists said.

A police cordon separated the two groups.

The Georgian leader, who has been widely criticised for his strong-arm tactics since being elected head of the republic's parliament last December, sharply criticised contingents of the republic's national guard who have opposed his policies.

Gamsakhurdia said Friday the republic was breaking off all official ties with the Soviet Union following Moscow's refusal to recognise its independence along with that of the Baltic states.

Protest meetings against the Georgian leader have taken place almost daily in Tbilisi since the beginning of the month.

Late Monday, 76 staff members of the Georgian television station demonstrated against what they called the government's "disinformation policy" and threatened to go on strike, local journalists reported.

Former Prime Minister Sigua Views Situation

LD0809202291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Tbilisi was extremely tense today. Actions with demands for the resignation of President Gamsakhurdia continued. Attempts to arrest those whom Gamsakhurdia calls the instigators of the disorders continued. Our correspondent (?Etiban Dzhafarov) has conducted a sensational interview in Georgia—an interview with one of the leaders of the opposition who is now in [word indistinct]. [video shows man being interviewed in a room, a man in a tracksuit is seated next to him, a longer shot later in the interview shows an armed guard in military uniform seated at the door of the room]

[Former Georgian Prime Minister Sigua] Yes, unfortunately our official press printed all of the orders of the putschists. We have indirect evidence of the fact that Mr. Omanidze, the deputy—the first deputy—chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, and the chairman, Mr. (Kuglidze), the former chairman of the Union Chamber of Commerce on the 18th—that is the day before the putsch—were in Moscow and they had meetings with the putschist leaders. You see, I am already certain of my opinion, that Georgia is not ready for the institution of presidency. Preparations are necessary for this. First of all one needs to absorb democracy, and then one can go over to presidential administration. In my opinion, Georgia should now return to parliamentary methods of administration. I scrupulously study the foreign press. We have a terrible image. No one wants to speak to us. [video shows street protests in the main streets and central squares of Tbilisi]

[(Dzhafarova)] Sigua, whom they have been trying to arrest for five days is now under the protection of the National Guard. Street processions and general rallies have become a normal phenomenon for Tbilisi. There is one demand: the resignation of Gamsakhurdia, the republic's president. Representatives of the various democratic parties are demonstrating surprising cohesion, standing side by side in the ranks of the demonstrators. The situation continues to remain tense and the local authorities who are putting up militia cordons and bus screens between Gamsakhurdia and anti-Gamsakhurdia people are making the situation even more complex. This is how it was at the rally that took place in front of Government House on 7 September. The OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] cannot yet be seen but attempts are being made to bring about clashes among the people themselves. The National Guard has now returned to base. Previously its detachments were in the mountains, but they are also demanding the president's resignation. The commander of the Guard stated that the Guard is with the people and it will not permit bloodshed in the capital—otherwise it will come out against the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Announcer] The building of the Georgian Television Center was blockaded today. According to our report, the reports that are being issued from it are subject to strict censorship. Our correspondent was today forced to leave Georgia to prepare this material. He returned today. A Georgian representative has stated that the republic is breaking all links with Moscow although he does not exclude the possibility of its participation in the activities of the central economic bodies. I think that the reason for this statement is in particular a grievance that Moscow—having recognized the Baltic republics—did not recognize Georgia's independence.

Sigua Reportedly in Shavnabada With 100 Guardsmen

PM0909200491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent B. Urigashvili report: "Political Confrontation Growing in Georgia"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The whereabouts of former Georgian Prime Minister T. Sigua has become known. He is staying in the out-of-town settlement of Shavnabada, a few kilometers from Tbilisi. There too are about 100 guardsmen with guards commander T. Kitovani, who does not recognize his discharge, signed by President Gamsakhurdia. Kitovani stated that if the authorities resort to violence against the opposition, the guards reserve the right to retaliate.

It was there in Shavnabada that a meeting took place yesterday between a delegation of American congressmen and T. Sigua and former Foreign Minister G. Khoshtaria. Also taking part in the meeting were T. Kitovani and G. Chanturia, leader of the National Democratic Party of Georgia. The congressmen expressed the hope that everything will be resolved by peaceful and lawful means.

As these lines are being transmitted, a deputation consisting of guardsmen's parents is assembling outside parliament. They intend to go to Shavnabada and persuade their children to return to barracks. The deputation is resolute

Sigua Charges of Persecution Denied

AU0909171791 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Russian 1430 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Statement by the Press Service of the Republic of Georgia president]

[Text] On 7 September, the central television broadcast the statement by Mr. [Temgiz] Sigua, former prime minister of the Republic of Georgia. On the one hand, his appearance on the television screen was a refutation of the rumors about his arrest that had been artificially spread by the opposition in Tbilisi. It is a striking fact that the premier who had allegedly been persecuted and oppressed, for some reason happened to find accommodation at a secret address and [words indistinct] his critical considerations. It is known that Mr. Sigua was released from his post as prime minister in accordance with his own written request in the days prior to the Moscow putsch, more specifically, on 17 August, had virtually no connection with Georgian authorities, and did not know how the leadership, the president, the government, and the parliament of the Republic of Georgia acted during the specific events of 19-21 August. It is a pity that Mr. Sigua is repeating those same groundless accusations that are voiced against the leadership of Georgia by the Soviet mass media that have discredited themselves in our country, and is becoming a participant in the newly unfolding information war against Georgia. If not Mr. Sigua, then the Georgia public knows that the Georgian republican newspapers, with the exception of the organs of the Communist Party—the newspapers TSKHOVREBA and SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIA—did not carry the decrees issued by the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE]. As concerns the official press of the Republic of Georgia, instead of publishing the decrees and appeals by the SCSE, it carried those by Boris Yeltsin and the address by the president of the Republic of Georgia to Western countries in which he called upon them to support the legitimately elected presidents and parliaments. The president of Georgia repeatedly declared that nobody was pursuing the goal of dissolving the National Guard. It was not dissolved but was temporarily given a different status, in view of the tense situation that took shape during the putsch. It is known to the population of Georgia that the original status has already been returned to the guard. In our opinion, such commentaries by the former premier mislead millions of television viewers outside Georgia and can only contribute to an exacerbation of the anti-Georgian campaign. It seems to us that those people who have resigned from governmental posts must take their leave from the political arena with dignity and be more reserved in giving their assessments to the situation that has taken shape in Georgia, because their statements resemble the talk of embittered persons rather than benevolent criticism.

Gamsakhurdia Building 'Totalitarianism'

PM0909155191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[N. Andreyev report: "Georgia in the Ring of 'Kremlin Agents' and 'Enemies of the People'"]

[Text] The things that are happening in Georgia today—rallies where sharp words aimed at republic President Zviad Gamsakhurdia are uttered, and armed confrontation between various political forces—are the inevitable legacy of the suppression of the putsch in Moscow. After the events of 19-21 August, the sociopolitical processes in Russia, the Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova and other regions have sharply accelerated. And this has filled the opposition in Georgia with enthusiasm.

To make the situation in this republic clear, the following comparison can be made: The actions and resolutions of the State Committee on the State of Emergency are very similar to the procedures that Zviad Gamsakhurdia established in Georgia. This means first and foremost the harsh suppression of any opposition forces, the closure of all newspapers that contained even a hint at disagreement with the regime, and the detention of the most consistent of Gamsakhurdia's opponents. It seems to me no accident that the Georgian president did not publicly condemn the putschists. And some of his actions point to the fact that he greeted the seizure of power by Yanayev and the others with satisfaction. For example, after his meeting with Transcaucasus Military District Commander V. Patrikeyev, Z. Gamsakhurdia ordered that the national guard be dissolved. Georgian Deputy Prime Minister M. Omanidze met G. Yanayev in Moscow 18 August, and the meeting was arranged by a close comrade from Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] work, former Vice President R. Goglidze.

But this is not even the main point. The Communist regime in Georgia was overthrown two years ago, and the communist ideology was rooted out. And this was thanks to Z. Gamsakhurdia in no small part. However, when he came to power, he could not find anything better to do than to implant totalitarian procedures again. You get the impression that power and might are going to his head. Gamsakhurdia is making energetic efforts to build totalitarianism in an individual state. And he is doing so with some success. His negative attitude to the democrats in his republic, and indeed any democrats at all, is well known. You only have to cite his utterances on this subject: "Russian democrats are 'denouncing' us again, maintaining that we are arresting members of the political opposition." "The Russian democrats include a great many people who have a chauvinist attitude toward Georgia." What is this about?

You also get the impression that Gamsakhurdia does not understand what is happening in the country in general, and in Georgia in particular. Earlier he blamed the center, the Kremlin, and the KGB for everything. Naturally there was some justification for this, as Union structures did not get rid of their imperial mentality until very recently. But today the situation is different! The Kremlin is not just M. Gorbachev's but also B. Yeltsin's residence. And therefore accusations such as the following, coming from Z. Gamsakhurdia's lips, sound strange: "The moment of Georgia's recognition by a whole series of countries is approaching, and this will happen in the next few days. The Kremlin cannot reconcile itself with this at all and, with the assistance of its agents, is trying to create destabilization in Georgia, thus thwarting our republic's recognition." At the moment there are no reports to the effect that anyone intends to recognize Georgia, but ultimately this is an internal matter for the other countries. But why should B. Yeltsin or even M. Gorbachev be opposed to this? Incidentally, the Baltic countries kept driving the USSR president mad and he gave them fierce warnings, but as regards Georgia, M. Gorbachev displayed neutrality. Not once did he express disapproval of Z. Gamsakhurdia, although he took every opportunity to try and get at V. Landsbergis.

Evidently, we can soon be witnesses to the toughening of repressions in Georgia. The new vocabulary Z. Gamsakhurdia uses testifies to this. E. Shevardnadze only had to express himself critically—although very cautiously—about recent events in Georgia to be immediately branded an "enemy of the Georgian people." But then everyone who does not agree with Gamsakhurdia is branded an "enemy." Well, we already know from our own history how campaigns to expose and destroy "enemies of the people" are organized and how they end.

Gamsakhurdia Decree Establishes Defense Ministry

LD0909170191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Sep (TASS)—President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia signed a decree today on setting up a republican Ministry of Defense. The Georgian information agency SAKINFORM Reports that this has been charged with forming a National Army of Georgia, and also with insuring material and technical provisions for the National Guard, which is henceforth directly subordinate to the President of the Republic.

President Z. Gamsakhurdia issued a decree today. This states that former National Guard commander Tengiz Kitovani concentrated guard units in the environs of Tbilisi "to draw them into the anti-state putsch". The men and officers of the Guard, the Georgian agency's report says, have been ordered to leave the places where they were stationed, return to city barracks and await the president's instructions on further action.

Deputies Claim Anarchy, Corruption in Minorities

AU0909172591 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 10 Aug 91 p 3

[Undated letter sent to the editorial board of SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA by the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society group of deputies, followed by the text of the statement read by group chairman V. Adamia at the 2 August session of the Georgian Supreme Council in Tbilisi]

[Text] On 6 August this year, an article by SAKINFORM correspondents Paata Tsintsadze and Eduard Ediberidze was published in SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in which an evaluation was given of the statement by the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society at the session of the Supreme Council. It is up to the reader himself to judge how objective and honest this article is. We are publishing the statement that was read out by Vazha Adamia, chairman of the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society, at the session of the Supreme Council on 2 August. [Signed] V. Adamia, G. Khavt'asi, T. Obgadze, N. Kvachadze, E. Qavelishvili, A. Machavariani, S.

Zviadadze, G. Uriat'mqop'eli, D. Kupreishvili, M. Khutsishvili, G. Golet'iani, J. Sajaia, Z. Gigolashvili, A. Vardzelashvili. **A Statement by the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society Group of Deputies**

At the previous session, the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society group of deputies protested against the attempt to compromise the honor of deputy Archil Machavariani. With regard to this question, the session adopted a decision on the creation of a parliamentary commission. However, as a result of the unprincipled behavior of Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Akaki Asatiani, chairman of the Supreme Council, this commission is not functioning, which is a violation of Article 116 of the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia.

The All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society group of deputies points to the feebleness of Supreme Council Chairman Batoni Akaki Asatiani in resolving a whole range of important state questions which is shown primarily in the incorrect implementation of cadres policy. Still now, members of the Supreme Council do not have elementary working conditions; no account is taken of decisions made by the commissions; the Supreme Council has almost taken away the right of controlling the implementation of laws as a result of which, unfortunately, anarchy rules in ministries and departments, flagrant violations are taking place, and there is also corruption. Furthermore, following the previous session, at a meeting of roundtable deputies, Batoni Akaki Asatiani called for the slavish submissiveness of this bloc failing which, he threatened them with recall and declared that the roundtable would no longer be able to hold its traditional highly fruitful meetings.

Proceeding from all the aforementioned, the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society group of deputies believes that Batoni Akaki Asatiani, Republic of Georgia Supreme Council chairman, should resign from his post. Failing this, we will call upon all deputies who are concerned about Georgia's fate to support the demand of the All-Georgian Merab Kostava Society group of deputies to put the matter to a vote. **The letter has been signed by the same deputies.**

Economic Link With Ex-Soviet Republics Welcomed

OW0909165891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Georgian Prime Minister Bakur Gulua has said that Georgia's readiness to enter into an economic alliance with ex-Soviet republics "can in no way damage its political sovereignty."

Addressing the people over republican TV on Sunday, Mr. Gulua spoke highly of the new Union's economic convention which he personally had helped to draft.

He said it was up to the Georgians themselves to decide whether or not their republic should join the economic alliance.

Journalists Banned From Gamsakhurdia Briefing

LD0909163591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Soviet journalists were not permitted to attend a news conference given by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Only representatives of the foreign mass media were invited. So, we are unable to obtain first-hand information on the situation in the republic, which remains tense after the break up of the demonstration organized by the opposition in Tbilisi on 2 September.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan, Kafarova on NKAO Declaration

NC0609152291 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Sep 91 p 4

[Article by Sami Kohen: "Armenia Tries To Maintain a Reconciliatory Approach"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—The Azerbaijan Government has declared the independence of the Nagorno-Karbakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] as null and void. The Armenian and Soviet leaders also have adopted a chilly approach toward NKAO's independence.

In an exclusive statement to MILLIYET, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia said: "The decision to declare NKAO's independence is not serious. There have been many reports on the declaration of independence by several republics during the past few days. The report concerning NKAO's independence is one of them. Everyone is declaring independence in the country at present."

Ter-Petrosyan said recognizing NKAO's independence was out of the question. Regarding the question of Azerbaijan's independence, he said: "We uphold Azerbaijan's independence... That was the wish of the Azerbaijan parliament and people. Therefore, we respect this decision."

Ter-Petrosyan noted the possibility that the decision adopted by the Armenian committee in the NKAO in connection with the declaration of independence may create tension in the region. He also said the NKAO's declaration of independence had nothing to do with the independence Armenia is expected to declare after the referendum it will hold on 21 September. Ter-Petrosyan also noted that Armenia wishes to establish good-neighborly relations with Azerbaijan and its other neighbors within the framework of the new union in USSR. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, in her exclusive statement to MILLIYET, Elmira Kafarova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Republic Supreme Soviet, described the NKAO declaration as an independent Armenian republic as an illegal move. Recalling that the NKAO is an inseparable part of the Azerbaijan Republic, Kafarova asserted: "Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet and people have decided to declare the republic independent as a whole. This decision is in accordance with the laws. The decision adopted by the Armenians in the NKAO is not valid. We have no land to give them. Azerbaijan is ready to hold talks with Armenia on the question of their border. We are ready to work to establish good-neighborly relations between the two republics. Nevertheless, the question of the NKAO is an internal Azerbaijani problem. It cannot be discussed with foreign countries."

On how the NKAO Armenians will realize the independence they have declared and whether or not they will resort to force, Kafarova said: "They will not be able to do anything. If they try, then they will suffer." [passage omitted]

Kafarova held talks in Moscow with Volkan Vural, Turkey's ambassador to the Soviet Union. This was the first contact between the Azerbaijani and Turkish officials after the declaration of Azerbaijan's independence. Kafarova told us that she informed Amb. Vural of Azerbaijan's expectations of Turkey. She said she also informed Amb. Vural that she was well aware of Ankara's foreign policy and that she was not putting forward a request for Azerbaijan's immediate recognition by Turkey. Nevertheless, El'mira Kafarova asserted the following: "We have also expressed our wish in that regard, however." [passage omitted]

It has become apparent that the situation in Azerbaijan has grown tense after the declaration of the republic's independence. The Armenians in the NKAO and the dispute between the government and the opposition in Azerbaijan have caused the tension to escalate in that republic. The opposition groups headed by the Azerbaijan Popular Front have decided to boycott the presidential elections on 8 September. The opposition groups have launched an intensive campaign against Ayaz Mutalibov, leader of the Communist Party in Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, a general strike is under way in Baku.

In a statement to MILLIYET, Temurlan Karayev, chairman of the Azerbaijan Popular Front Assembly, agreed that the situation in the republic was critical. He said: "A adverse situation exists in the republic. We may be dragged into an internal war."

Karayev disclosed that the opposition groups in Azerbaijan do not trust Mutalibov and his administration and that they will boycott the presidential elections. He said: "In view of this, the government which will come to power after the elections will be regarded as an illegal administration. The people will oppose it."

Regarding the question of Azerbaijan's independence, Karayev said the Azerbaijan Popular Front objects to any concession on the question of independence. He noted that, except for bilateral economic ties, they do not support the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union in any fields. [passage omitted]

Ter-Petrosyan Comments on Failed Coup

OW0909160191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairman of the Armenian parliament Levon Ter- Petrosyan has said that following the abortive coup real power in the country went to the republics.

Addressing the Armenian parliament which convened for a session on Monday, L. Ter-Petrosyan pointed to the need to establish economic cooperation between republics at once, since they are interested in it at least temporarily, for they all are facing the threat of a cold winter and food shortages.

L. Ter-Petrosyan pointed to the growing importance of the republican referendum scheduled for September 21, "Since it will lay legal foundations for proclaiming Armenian independence."

According to L. Ter-Petrosyan, a major problem to be resolved is the country's military and strategic unity. The center and all republics, except for the Ukraine, perhaps, are interested in it, he said. According to him, Armenia dispatched its envoy to Moscow to attend a conference with the USSR Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov scheduled for Tuesday.

With reference to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh L. Ter- Petrosyan said he is confident that it will be possible to restore "constitutional order, local government bodies and regional police in the area, and remove the Azeri OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] from there." According to the Armenian leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed their willingness to act as mediators in the efforts to settle the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Political, Economic Issues on Parliament Agenda

LD0909215691 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 10 TASS—A number of major issues concerning the socio-political and economic life of Armenia will be considered by the republican parliament that went into its autumn session here on Monday. The session will continue until the end of the year.

The political situation in the country and in the republic is the first item on the agenda which deputies began to discuss.

In his opening speech, Armenian parliament chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan described the political situation in the country as auspicious because, in his view, the use of brute force with regard to republics and in Nagorno-Karabakh will soon be ruled out, as was the case prior to the foiling of the coup.

Speaking about the problems of armenia's internal political life, Ter-Petrosyan emphasised that the significance of the forthcoming September 21 referendum on the republic's independence grows still further in the light of recent events in the country.

He said the referendum would serve as a reliable basis for the attainment of real independence in accordance with the constitution and laws of the USSR.

Touching upon military problems, the Armenian leader assumed that the presence of USSR armed forces on the republic's territory would be possible on a treaty basis, not excluding the status of military bases.

Then the Armenian parliament chief stated that the republic should combine its political course towards independence with a solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh.

He voiced confidence that changes in the form of restoration of the constitutional power bodies of Nagorno-Karabakh would come about soon. Serious steps are being taken in this respect by the leadership of both the union and some republics, he said.

Only after that Armenia may start any talks with Azerbaijan, Ter- Petrosyan added. The two republics should not negotiate the restoration of the state of affairs that was upset by the president of the USSR who through his decree had abolished the legitimate power bodies of Nagorno-Karabakh.

It is the ussr president who should restore the previous state of affairs, the Armenian leader pointed out.

In so doing Ter-Petrosyan specified that Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, who expressed readiness to participate in the normalisation process, should be, along with Mikhail Gorbachev, the guarantors of the normalisation of the situation in Nagorno- Karabakh.

Measures To Cope With Fuel 'Crisis' Assessed

PM1009102991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Sergey Bablumyan report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Armenia: Tension With the Power Industry and Fuel"]

[Text] Yerevan—The Armenian Council of Ministers has taken a series of vigorous measures designed to overcome the crisis situation in the fuel and power industry complex.

Authorization has been granted to attract specialists to repair boiler rooms, thermal power stations, and central heating systems on a contract basis. In case of extreme necessity—and I do not think that this will be long in coming— the republic's foreign currency reserves will be released in order to obtain additional oil products. The Armenian Ministry of Finance has been instructed to grant an interest-free loan that will be used for the same purpose. The republic's Ministry of Trade and the Aykoop [expansion unknown] will be able to buy in a further 200,000 tonnes of coal in addition to allocated deliveries.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Comments on Presidential Duties

LD0909195991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Sep 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A news conference was held in Baku today by Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov. Journalists were informed that 83.7 percent of electors had gone to the polls. As is known, by decision of the Majlis of the Nakhichevan autonomous republic, today headed by Geydar Aliyev, the election was prohibited in that land.

[Begin Mutalibov recording] Under the aegis of democratic reforms, they violated human rights in Nakhichevan. But we will view this issue quite calmly, without emotion, and we will bring anyone who breaks the laws of Azerbaijan to their senses. I do not intend to align myself with any parties anymore. I will carry out the duties of president, based on the laws, and my sympathies and antipathies toward this or that movement are my personal affair. [end recording]

A resolution appealing for the results of the presidential election not to be recognized and demanding the resignation of all power structures was adopted at a rally in Baku. It was organized by the republic's People's Front. Speakers noted that the struggle is not being waged against individual personalities, but for freedom and democracy. This was reported by the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY.

Mutalibov Issues Decree Forming Defense Ministry

LD0909164491 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Asildar Guseynov]

[Text] Baku September 9 AZERINFORM-TASS—Armenian militants on Saturday opened gun and grenade-launcher fire at a passenger bus on the road linking Agdam and Martumi. According to the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry, the bus exploded killing four people and causing serious injuries to 20 others, who were taken to hospital. A woman died upon arrival. The Hodjavend militia chief's car, carrying three wounded

militiamen, was fired at near the town of Martuni, wounding the chief who was driving.

The day before, militants killed two Azers in the village of Tug of the Gudrut district and fired ar a bus coming from Stepanakert. The military commandant's office is helping locate and arrest the criminals.

Meanwhile, the Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov issued a decree to form the republic ministry of defence. The executive decree was issued in pursuance of the Azerbaijani parliament resolution on the creation of national self-defence forces.

Lieutenant-General Barshatli Valeg Eub-Ogly, 64, was appointed the minister of defence. He graduated an artillery military school and the armour academy, and attended the military academy under the Soviet armed forces' headquarters.

He began his career in the paratrooper force, then commanded a tank batallion, regiment and, later, division and was an army first deputy commander.

In recent years he headed the Army Command school and a republican specialized Nakhichevansky school.

Election Turnout Tops 50 Percent

AU0809170691 Paris AFP in English 1612 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Report by Paola Messana]

[Excerpts] Moscow, Sept 8 (AFP)—Voter turnout was running at more than 50 percent in Azerbaijan's first free presidential elections Sunday, despite opposition calls for a boycott because just one candidate was on the ballot, local reports said.

ASSA-IRADA, a news agency close to the Azeri presidency, said more than half the southern republic's voters had cast their ballots by noon.

Initial surveys by its reporters showed "about 90 per cent of the voters" had backed the sole candidate, current President Ayaz Mutalibov.

Voting was under way in Azeri villages of the troubled, mainly Armenian autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the rest of the republic, the agency said. It gave no figures however on the turnout in the enclave's Armenian villages, which had decided to boycott the election. [passage omitted]

In other developments, ASSA-IRADA said the Azerbaijan central electoral commission had received many telegrams from voters in Nakhichevan, an autonomous part of Azerbaijan located between the Armenian Republic and Iran.

They "complained they were prevented from voting," the agency said.

Nakhichevan, ruled by a veteran Communist leader from the hardline Brezhnev era, Geidar Aliyev, who quit the Communist Party a few weeks ago, has "put off the elections to a later date."

Opposition parties in Azerbaijan have called for demonstrations Sunday in favour of democracy and freedom.

"We refuse to reproduce the old system and leave power in the hands of former Communist Party members," said Laila Yunusova, spokeswoman for the opposition National Democratic Movement.

President Mutalibov was secretary general of Azerbaijan's Communist Party until it was dissolved following last month's abortive coup in Moscow.

The Azeri opposition accused Mutalibov of supporting the coup plotters and has demanded his resignation.

Mutalibov denied this, and resigned as secretary general of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, which was then dissolved.

Following the lead of other republics, Azerbaijan then declared its independence from Moscow, but it has since joined the State Council, the provisional Soviet governing body.

Commission: Mutalibov Victory 'Fait Accompli'

LD0809211991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] For the first time nation-wide direct elections of a president took place today in Azerbaijan. President Ayaz Mutalibov was the only candidate for this post. Our correspondent has the details:

[Correspondent Mustafayev, identified by caption] The elections have proceeded in a quite calm atmosphere. A meeting of protest, organized by the People's Front of Azerbaijan, took place at the end of the day. According to the staff of the Central Electoral Commission the election of Mutalibov can be regarded as a fait accompli.

If Mutalibov becomes the president, will there be any personnel changes in the republican leadership?

[G. Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Cabinet of Ministers, identified by caption] All politics is accompanied by personnel changes. I do not think that the election of the president will mean a kind of revolutionary change in the cadre policy. The cadre policy should be always renewed. New people should always come into politics and the has beens should leave. [video shows meeting of people, elections, interview with Gasanov]

Popular Front Not To Recognize Poll

OW0909123791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to estimates, 83

of voters went to the polls on Sunday during presidential elections. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent learned this from the Central Electoral Commission.

According to the commission, the elections were virtually disrupted in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic where the local parliament refused to conduct them. In Nagorno-Karabakh only the Azeri population went to the polls.

The final results of voting will be known only in two days' time, the Central Electoral Commission told IF.

In the meantime observers and newsmen have no doubt that the only contender for the presidency, the current leader of Azerbaijan Ayaz Mutalibov, will collect the required number of votes.

On Sunday the Popular Front organized in Baku a meeting which gathered thousands of people. Speakers pointed to numerous abuses of electoral legislation. Member of the Moscow City Council Andrey Babushkin who had come to the capital of Azerbaijan as an observer, for one, said that at 12 polling stations he had visited some voters received and used 2, 3 or even 4 ballots each.

The meeting was addressed by the Popular Front chairman Abulfaz Aliyev. The Popular Front will not recognize elections conducted under "old prescriptions," he declared. The Popular Front doesn't recognize President Ayaz Mutalibov either. A. Aliyev urged the republic's authorities to schedule new parliamentary elections and hold after them "normal" presidential elections on a multiparty basis.

Speakers at the meeting said that the political strike launched 6 days previously at the call of Azerbaijan's Popular Front will be suspended as of September 9.

Nakhichevan Assembly Denies Separatist Charges

OW0909174391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Medjlis (parliament) of the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan has confirmed its commitment "to Azerbaijan's unity and integrity." In a statement issued last Saturday in response to criticism addressed to the Nakhichevani leadership over Baku TV, the Medjilis described the Nakhichevani republic as an integral part of Azerbaijan.

The statement says that the "slanderous anti-Nakhichevan campaign" was launched by the Azerbaijani communist party and republican television's administrators "who have adopted a subversive, anti-democratic and reactionary stance." The parliament of Nakhichevan urges legal punishment for those responsible.

Allegations by a number of Azerbaijani leaders that Nakhichevan's authorities are planning to separate the autonomous republic from Azerbaijan resulted, among other things, from the Medjlis decision not to hold the September 8 presidential elections on Nakhichevani territory.

After the failure of the August coup in the USSR, a series of protest rallies in the republic's capital brought Geydar Aliyev, ex-leader of the Azerbaijani communist party and an ex-member of the CPSU CC Politburo, to the post of head of the Nakhichevani parliament.

Party Leader Wants Community of Sovereign States

OW0909204291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Azerbaijani Social Democratic Party, Araz Ali-zade, has said in an interview with IF [INTERFAX] that the new Union should be a community of sovereign states. He said his party would work for such a community to be economic, rather than political.

Mr. Ali-zade said "each state should have an army of its own, but there should be a single system of collective security and a joint command." The new union of sovereign states should with time be integrated into NATO, the Azerbaijani Social Democratic leader suggested.

According to him, Moscow has been fanning the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan in order to retain control over both republics. The war should be ended without delay with mediatory assistance. As a first step, Armenia should withdraw its territorial claims, or else the 4-year-old war would continue. Mr Ali-zade said.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Tension Reportedly Increases 'Dramatically'

NC0909165891 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Tension in Nagorno-Karabakh has increased dramatically. As previously reported, armed brigands attacked a passenger bus in Gadrutskiy rayon on the evening of 6 September, killing several Armenians who were taken to Martuninskiy rayon hospital. Tension is also (?persisting) in Martuninskiy rayon.

On 8 September a bus carrying Azerbaijanis was attacked in Karadagly village in Martuninskiy, and preliminary reports have indicated that four Azerbaijanis were killed and 13 were wounded. On the same day, Azerbaijanis wearing militia uniforms opened fire on Martuni with automatic weapons. [words indistinct] were wounded, one of whom later died in the return fire.

On 8 September unidentified persons armed with automatic weapons and wearing militia uniforms once again set fire to (?a farm) in [name indistinct] village in Martuninskiy rayon. The firefighters, who arrived at the location, (?found) [words indistinct] Azerbaijani militia.

There has also been a report indicating that the corpse of Yuriy Gasparyan, a resident of Mushkapat, was found between the [name indistinct] and Mushkapat villages, where Genrikh Stepanyan, a resident of the same village, was also discovered with gunshot wounds to his chest. [words indistinct] The identity card of a militiaman [first name indistinct] Arifogly Bayramov was also found at the location. The Martuninskiy rayon procurator and the rayon internal affairs department are investigating the incident.

Because of these incidents, the oblasts roads have been blockaded, thus disrupting transportation. As usual, (?crimes) and lawless activity continue in full force.

The exacerbation of the situation in (?the oblast) is not a coincidence. The militant anti-Armenian speeches that were delivered at the most recent session of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet apparently have had effect.

Clashes Claim 13 Deaths, Injuries Over Weekend

LD0909151791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 9 Sep (TASS)—Thirteen people were killed and over 30 wounded during the past weekend in Nagorno- Karabakh.

The tension which had been centred in the village of Tug in Gadrutskiy Rayon, where four Armenians and two Azerbaijanis were killed on Saturday, spilled over into Martuninskiy Rayon on Sunday.

According to a report of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Internal Affairs Directorate, in the second half of 8 September a bus was shot at by unidentified people in Martuninskiy Rayon, as had happened in Tug. On this occasion it was carrying Azerbaijanis. Five of them were killed, and many were wounded. On the same day the corpse of an Armenian was found near the village of Mushkapat in the same rayon. Examination showed that death was by asphyxiation. His wounded comrade was lying next to him.

Toward evening, two cars without registration plates began to drive around the settlement of Martuni; people in militia uniform opened automatic fire from them at inhabitants of the rayon center. Fortunately there were no casualties. However, when driving out of the settlement one of the unmarked cars came under fire: One Azerbaijani militiaman was killed and three wounded.

People have also been injured in the Armenian village of Noragyukh in Askeranskiy Rayon, where a house on the outskirts was blown up early in the morning of 9 September; three people were injured.

As the TASS correspondent was told at the commandant's office of the state of emergency zone in the NKAO and adjacent rayons of the Azerbaijan Republic, servicemen of the USSR internal troops are trying to reduce the wave of violence which has swept over Karabakh in the past few days.

5 Deaths in Bus Attack

LD0909141791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Asildar Guseynov]

[Text] Baku, 9 Sep [Tass]—Armenian extremists on Sunday again used firearms and grenade launchers to attack a passenger bus travelling on the Agdam-Martuni road. The Republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that the bus exploded, four passengers were killed on the spot and 20 seriously injured people were taken to a hospital where another woman died from her wounds. The Chief of the (?Khodzhavend) militia attempted to carry three wounded militia employees in his own car. However, his car was also shot at in the town of Martuni and he was wounded himself.

Two Azerbaijani residents of the village of Tugo, Gadrut Rayon, were killed by guerillas in the village of Tugo, Gadrut Rayon, and a bus travelling to Stepanakert was fired upon. A joint search has begun with the military commandant's office, to locate and detain the criminals.

Kyrgyztan

Interparliamentary Democrats' Congress Concludes

LD0909100591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0825 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Bishkek, 9 Sep (TASS)—The interparliamentary conference of the country's "Democratic Congress," which was held for two days in the capital of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, has ended with a statement addressed to the parliaments of the republics. The Democrat parliamentarians of Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Lithuania, and representatives of the non- parliamentary democratic movements of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, and Azerbaijan propose: First, to hold before the end of this year a conference on the security of and cooperation between all 15 states—former members of the USSR—at which a system of collective security is to be determined. Second, to set up under the country's State Council a "roundtable," with the participation of representatives of the democratic and workers' movement of all republics, to discuss an economic agreement. And third, to set up an interrepublican committee for the defense of human rights.

The conference came out by a majority in favor of strengthening the work of the democratic movement toward the creation of independent states, with the establishment of the inviolability of the present borders between the republics and the settling of all disputed issues through talks. It sharply condemned, and adopted a statement on, the recent breaking up by security service forces of demonstrations in Tbilisi.

Tajikistan

Supreme Soviet Adopts Independence Declaration

LD0909131591 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Today, the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] started its work. Now a report from correspondent Khurmat Adilov:

[Adilov] First, I want to congratulate you, dear listeners, on the state independence of Tajikistan. Yes, today, the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan adopted a decree on the declaration of independence of Tajikistan. September 9 of every year has been declared a national holiday. Dear listeners, the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan will continue its work in one hour.[passage omitted]

Deputy Nasruddinov proposed, considering the events of February, that 12 February should be declared the day of martyrs. The Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan has decreed that 12 February every year will be declared a day of remembrance. The national flag of Tajikistan will fly at half-mast. [passage omitted].

Independence Day 9 Sep

OW0909144691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, at its emergency session, Tajikistan's parliament proclaimed independence for the republic.

It adopted a declaration which says that Tajikistan is a sovereign and democratic state ruled by law.

September 9 is announced Independence Day and a public holiday.

In connection with the changed status of the republic its parliament made amendments and addenda to the declaration of sovereignty adopted earlier.

The document states that "state property, such as state-owned facilities, offices and organizations, including those run by the center, are Tajikistan's property."

Tajikistan will independently conduct and monitor the mining, processing and storing of gold, other precious metals and stones on its territory, and create its gold reserves. Tajikistan has its share in the USSR gold, diamond and currency reserves.

The Republic of Tajikistan will determine the terms of foreign investment on its territory, define the rights of investors, create its own convertible currency fund, sell and purchase gold and other reserves along vith convertible currency.

The republic will take part in ensuring collective security and maintaining strategic forces of the union of sovereign states.

The Republic of Tajikistan is an independent subject of international law. It will establish diplomatic, consular and trade ties with foreign countries and exchange envoys with them, the declaration says.

Further on Declaration

LD0909130791 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Text] Dushanbe September 9 TASS—The parliament of Tajikistan today declared state independence for the southern Soviet republic.

Tajikistan will continue to abide by international laws and the declaration of human rights and freedoms, passed at the extraordinary Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, and guarantees respect for dignity and rights of people of all nationalities living in the republic, the declaration says.

Independent Tajikistan supports a union of sovereign states on equal and mutually-beneficial conditions and is prepared to sign bilateral agreements with other sovereign republics without any pre- conditions, the document says.

It envisages setting up a republican gold reserve, the right to a share in the Soviet gold, diamond and hard-currency funds, and independence in financial, credit and pricing policies.

The document envisages republican citizenship, but every citizen retains the right to Soviet citizenship.

The parliament unanimously decided today to declare September 9 a national holiday.

The legislature renamed Vladimir Lenin Square in Dushanbe into Freedom Square.

Lawmakers have yet to pass several bills, including the bill on presidential elections set for October 27 and on a republican defence ministry.

Rally Demands President's Resignation, Party Ban

LD0909125791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1148 GMT 9 Sep 91

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 9 Sep [TAJIKTA-TASS]—Over 5,000 people gathered today for a rally outside the Tajikistan parliament building where an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of this Central Asian republic has resumed work. The rally was organized by the popular movement 'Rastokhez', the Democratic Party of Tajikistan and the Islamic Rebirth Party. Similar rallies also took place today in several oblasts and rayon centers around the republic.

Anong the basic demands of those at the rallies are the resignation of Kakhar Makhkamov, president of the Republic, also called for by the republic's parliament; a ban on the Communist Party of Tajikistan and a review by the republic's Supreme Soviet of the law banning the Islamic Rebirth Party which, despite the ban, is confidently involved in the arena of political struggle in the republic. It has emerged that Akbar Turdzhonzoda, qadi of Tajikistan's Muslims has appealed to those at the rally to keep calm. He has officially announced that he does not intend to stand as president. According to Akbar Turdzhonzoda the place of religion is in the moral and spiritual education of people and not in seizing political power.

Turkmenia

Presidential Council Meeting Plans Changes

LD0909180291 Ashkhabad Radio Ashkhabad Network in Turkmen 1600 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Excerpts] At the meeting of the presidential council of the Turkmenistan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] held on 9 September, the question of how to make speedy and fruitful use of the economic potential of the republic in the conditions of sovereignty was discussed. [passage omitted]

Some other political aspects of the Turkmenistan SSR were also examined at the presidential council. At the same time the necessity for formulation of the proposals for changing the name of the Turkmenistan SSR and the renewal of the state emblem, flag and national anthem of Turkmenistan in a short period of time was stressed. It was planned to send an appeal to the United Nations on registration of Turkmenistan as a full member of the international organization.

President Niyazov pointed out that it is important for all of us, from ordinary workers to high-ranking officials, to understand that no one but ourselves can solve our problems. In this connection it must be pointed out that maintaining law and order in the republic remains an important condition for the fruitful implementation of the sovereignty policy. President Niyazov will soon appear on television to talk about this and other problems and duties lying before the republic.

Uzbekistan

Democratic Forces Rally Suppressed in Tashkent

LD0809155491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Sep 91

[Correspondent Anwar Usmanov report from Tashkent]

[Text] A rally dedicated to the victory of the democratic forces of Russia was called for 8 September by the People's Movement of Uzbekistan. However, the authorities took unprecendented steps. On the eve of the rally, a number of activists of the Birlik People's Movement were arrested and their apartments were searched. And, beginning very early this morning, Lenin Square was surrounded by militia and the main and central streets were blocked off. Terrible things took place before the citizens' eyes. For instance, a group of militia officers seized USSR People's Deputy Pulatzhan Akhunov and shoved him into a bus. They arrested a British TV film crew along with him. Members of the Coordinating Council of Democratic Russia got it as well. They, and a film crew, the same film crew [as heard], were shoved into a bus and brought to the Kirovskiy Rayon department of internal affairs. The militia read them a long lecture to the effect that they had no business introducing their masonic procedures into Uzbekistan and that in Moscow, there was evidently famine, while here, in our republic, there was nothing but calm. Today's events show that the leadership of the republic does not want to enter into dialogue with the people. But they will have to. As official sources reported, the leadership of the republic, headed by Vice President Mirsaidov, set off for Moscow today to sign a treaty between Uzbekistan and Russia. Today's events show visibly how hypocritical our leadership has turned out to be. Here: the suppression of all democratic forces at a rally in honor of the victory of the democratic forces of Russia; and there: smiles and a treaty on mutual assistance. The hypocrisy is obvious. Anwar Usmanov, specially for the news, Tashkent.

Rally Organizers' Homes Searched

OW0909202691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 9 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For the second time in the past two weeks, the Uzbekistani authorities prevented the republic's pro-democracy groups yesterday from celebrating the victory of Russian democrats over the putschists. The first such rally was dispersed by the police on August 26.

Tashkent-based independent journalist Anvar Usmanov has told IF's [INTERFAX's] reporter that on the eve of Sunday's action the homes of rally organizers, activists of the popular movement BIRLIK, were searched. Since early Sunday morning, police cordons surrounded Tashkent's center and detained everyone attempting to get through. A total of 200 people were arrested, A. Usmanov said.

IF's correspondent stresses the point that the rally was rudely disrupted on the eve of the signing of a Russo-Uzbek treaty.

Defense Ministry Structure, Tasks Outlined

PM1009081091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kasymov, chief of the military mobilization work department of the Uzbek president's apparatus, by correspondent A. Orlov in Tashkent—date not stated: "Uzbekistan Forms Defense Ministry"]

[Text] As IZVESTIYA has already reported, a Ministry for Defense Affairs is being set up in Uzbekistan. "What is the reason for this step, against whom will it be defending itself?"—I asked Doctor of Juridical Sciences B. Kasymov, chief of the military mobilization work department of the Uzbek president's apparatus.

"The new ministry," Bakhadyr Ergashevich said, "will assume some of the functions of the USSR Defense Ministry, but it will neither attack nor defend itself, it will protect state sovereignty, citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, and the interests of servicemen and their families."

[Orlov] What will the new ministry do?

[Kasymov] Its system will incorporate existing military organs: military commissariats, the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy], and civil defense; and it will improve the predraft preparation of young people.

In addition, an alternative, nonmilitary form of service is to be organized: in transportation, construction, and the health service.

[Orlov] What will be the relationship between the Ministry for Defense Affairs and the Turkestan Military District?

[Kasymov] All troop units on the republic's territory will be subordinate to a single organ—in future, the Uzbek Military District. Its chief will apparently be deputy minister for defense affairs. The Turkestan Military District will, I think, remain, as an interrepublic coordinating body. The ministry will cooperate with the Turkestan Military District.

[Orlov] The law adopted on the independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan mentions the possibility of forming a national guard.

[Kasymov] The proposed strength of the national guard is 400-600 men. This will be one of the subunits of the Ministry for Defense Affairs, performing the duties of honor guard when leaders of other states are received and taking part in guarding the republic president...

The situation is calm in Uzbekistan, and there is as yet no need for the guard to supplant the military units and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], which are fulfilling their tasks pretty well.